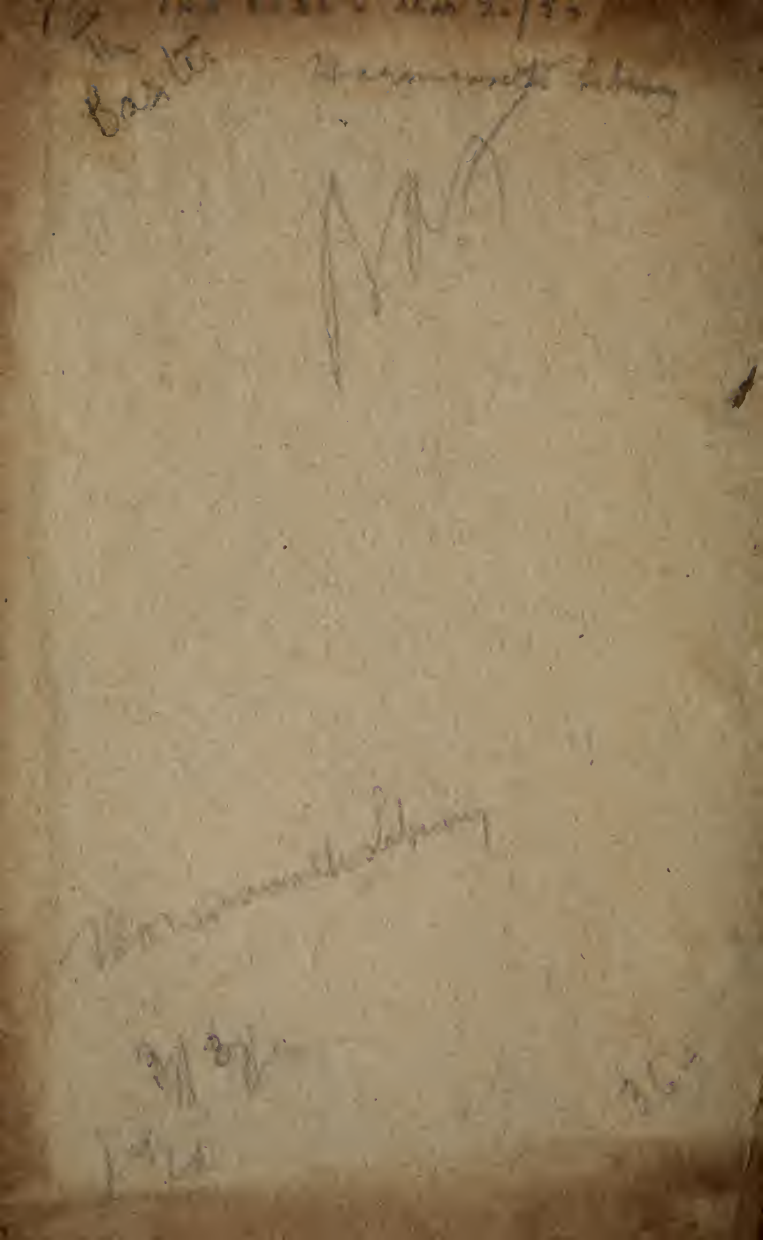

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THE NONCONFORMISTS PLEA for PEACE: OR *An Account of their Judgment.*

In certain things in which they are misunderstood: written to *reconcile* and *pacifie* such as by mistaking them hinder Love and Concord.

Exhort. in the Liturgy before the Communion.

If any of you be —an hinderer, *or slanderer of God's Word,—or be in malice or envy,—Repent of your sins, or else come not to the holy Table, lest after the taking of that Sacrament, the Devil enter into you as he did into* Judas, *and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul.*

By *RICHARD BAXTER.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Benj. Alsop* at the Angel and Bible over against the Stocks-Market. 1679.

To the Reverend

Conforming Clergy.

Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

IT is now seventeen years since neer two thousand Ministers of Christ were by Law forbidden the exercise of their Office, unless they did conform to Subscriptions, Covenants, Declarations and Practices, which we durst not do, because we feared God: Foreseeing what this would do to the destroying of Love and Concord, and of mens souls, weakning the Land, encouraging Popery, Heresie and Schism, we did our best betime by Reason, & submissive petitioning the Bishops, to have prevented it; but in vain: We never made one motion for Presbytery, or against Liturgies, nor to abate any of the Bishops Wealth, or Honour, nor any thing as to Church-Government, but Arch Bishop *Ushers* Model of the Primitive way: And we thankfully accepted of much less, expresst in His Majesties *Gracious Declaration* about

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Ecclesiastical Affairs, which, we hoped, would have ended all our discords. The Reasons of the *Great Change*, and *New Impositions*, it is God, and not we, that must have an account of from the Convocation, &c. and of the consequents. Since then, as we foresaw, contrary interests have increased contrariety: The Laws against our Preaching to more than four, the Penalties of forty pound a Sermon, and long imprisonment in common Gaols, and driving us five miles from Corporations, and places where we lately preachit, and the reasons given are not unknown to you: Many Books are written, and Sermons preached, earnestly pressing Magistrates to execute these Laws against us: And though, when demanded, we gave in a Catalogue of divers things in the old Impositions, which we undertook to prove to be great sins; and in our *Petition for Peace*, protested that nothing but avoiding sin should hinder our Conformity, and we had never call or leave to give our reasons against the New Conformity; I my self have been reported to my Superiours, to be one that confesseth the Lawfulness of all, save the renouncing of a rebellious Covenant: And while the Law and Canons imprison, and excommunicate us *ipso facto*, if we do but give the *reasons* of our Nonconformity; and I have offered to Reverend *Bishops* and others, to beg leave to

do

do it on my knees, and nothing more grieved me, than that I might not so endeavour to save men from the damning sins of Hating, false accusing, and ruining their Brethren, and sacrilegious hindering the Preaching of Gods Word; yet have I been called on to tell them *what it is that we would have*, and told that our *Superiours judge us not sincere*, but meer factious *Schismaticks*, that will neither *Conform, nor tell them why we do not*. Vehement Letters of accusation are sent me: Many Books charge us with heinous Schism, even as wilfully done against our consciences: Yea that *Covetousness and Pride, and not Conscience, cause our Nonconformity; that we are the worst men alive, and unfit for humane society, &c.* while we are made their scorn, and many want bread, and many of us preach for nothing, save the spiritual benefits and rewards. And those of us that have bread, know of so many that have families, and nothing but alms to maintain them, that we are glad to give them all that our necessities can spare: And we suppose our accusers would not think that if they chose beggery and scorn, or lived only on mens charity, it would prove them to be covetous or proud. I have read the Books of Bishop *Morley*, Mr. *Stillman*, Mr. *Fulwood*, Mr. *Durel*, Mr. *Fowlis*, Mr. *Falkener*, Mr. *Nanfen*, Dr. *Boreman*, Dr.

Dr. *Parker*, Dr. *Tomkins*, the *Friendly Debate*, Dr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Hollingworth*, Dr. *Good*, Mr. *Hinkley*, the *Counterminer*, Mr. *L'Eſtrange*, Mr *Long*, and many more. And as my fleſh is no more in love with poverty and ſcorn than yours, nor was I more uncapable of ſuch a lot as yours; ſo I here teſtifie that no man is more inexcuſable than I, that have dwelt ſo long in pain, ſo neer the grave, if I have been ſo *mad* as to ſilence my ſelf, and choſe a Gaol among malefactors (where I have lain) and bitter accuſations and proſecutions, for any thing of this world that I could hope for, or for any thing leſs than my ſalvation. And either I am an utter ſtranger to my ſelf, or elſe I was willing to know the Truth: and Liberty and Wealth is liker to be a byas, than that which the Law decreeth againſt us. But if I be ſo unhappy as to be uncapable of underſtanding the lawfulneſs of all that is made neceſſary to the Miniſtry, you ſhould better think of it before you beg the ruine of all that are as ignorant as I. Had you told *us* how to come to *your meaſure of knowledge*, we would thank you: When I askt Biſhop *Morley* ſuch a queſtion, he adviſed me to read *Bilſon* and *Hooker*, where I found more than I approved for reſiſting or reſtraining Kings; and had long before read them and *Saravia*, Biſhop *Downam*, *Spalatenſis*,

ſis, *Petavius*, *Sancta Clara*, Dr. *Hammond*, and abundance more for Prelacy, &c. He is not worthy the name of a man that would not know that truth, which maketh both for his temporal and eternal welfare.

Under theſe accuſations my conſcience urged me to acquaint the accuſing Clergy with our Caſe, believing it be uncharitable to impute *all their falſe report to Malignity, or Diaboliſm*, but that it was *STRANGENESS to our Caſe*, while wrath and croſs intereſt kept them from hearing us: But my prudent friends perſwaded me ſilently to leave all to God, aſſuring me it would but more exaſperate, till *they called us themſelves to ſpeak*. Twice we were ſince invited to a Tryal for Concord, and both times *came to an Agreement* with the moderate and eminent Perſons that we treated with: But it was buried in privacy; and ſtill we are called on, to give the reaſons of our Diſſent.

Having long forborn for fear of offending them that require it, at laſt I have here adventured, not ſo far as to *urge the Caſe*, but only to *ſtate it*, and tell you barely what it is that I dare not do: If I find that you can bear this, if I have leave from God and man, I ſhall venture on more, and give you my reaſons: This unarmed Account is eaſily trampled on. I doubt not but it will meet with

with ſuch uſage as I have had already: But I muſt ſay, that if ſuch as the *Counterminer* will ſay that to *fear ſuch ſin as I have here named*, by one that is not willing to be damned, is *Treaſon*, *Rebellion*, *Schiſm*, *Faction*, *Pride*, *Obſtinacy*; this will not paſs with me for convincing Argument, on which I may venture my ſalvation. *Jul. Scaliger exercit.* tells us, that in *France* our *Bicott*, the Learned Schoolman, was envied by another for his Auditors in Philoſophy, and his crafty adverſary told the King, that *Bicott* was a Peripatetick, and *Ariſtotle* was againſt Monarchy: There needed no more, and *Bicott* was caſt down.

As for them that think that to name the late Wars is a Confutation of Nonconformiſts, as if they knew not that they were raiſed on both ſides by Conformiſts (*Heylin* in *Lauds* Life will tell them who.) I now only repeat, [*Silence all that had a hand in thoſe Wars* (except the Conformiſts) *and no more, and I and thouſands will give you thanks:*] I plead not for my ſelf: The years are paſt in which I might have better ſerved the Church, had I been thought tolerable. I am almoſt uncapable now of your kindneſs, or of any great hurt that you can do me. A torrent of reproaching ſcornful words may eaſe ſome mens minds, and ſerve ſome mens ends, but

but will not satisfie my conscience, nor heal the Land. I write not this as accusing Conformists, or the Law makers, but as answering their loud and long accusations and demands. If telling *what I fear*, seem a telling *what others are guilty of*, it is a consequent which I cannot avoid; but to avoid it and such like, have seventeen years been herein silent. So far am I from desiring the weakening of the Church, that I had not written this, but to prevent it. Though I with Saint *Martin* renounce communion with *Ithacius* and *Idacius*, I go not so far as he in separating from the Synods of Bishops; nor will I separate from any Christians, further than they separate from Christ, or expel me: Church-Order I love; Church-Tyranny and Schism I love not: I am for *more Bishops*, and not for fewer: If *Parish-Oratories*, or Chapels *were made Parish-Churches, at least in each Corporation antiently called* [illegible]: Yea if the *Parish-Ministers might be Pastors, Episcopi gregis, and not forced by strangers to excommunicate, absolve and receive to communion against their knowledge and consciences, nor to profess, promise or practice sin against God, nor omit their known Ministerial duty*, far be it from me to be against Conformity. I doubt not but he that will preserve Religion here in its due advantages, must endeavour to preserve

ſerve the Soundneſs, Concord and Honour of the Pariſh-Churches. And as the truly wiſe and honeſt *Judge Hale* hath ſaid to me, *It muſt be a new Act of Uniformity that muſt heal us, if ever we be healed.* I am of the mind of old Mr. *Dod, who, for the peoples ſake, thanked God that there were ſo many worthy Conformiſts, and for Truth and Conſcience ſake, thanked God that there were ſo many Nonconformiſts.* I love and honour the Reverend, ſolid, worthy Preachers which I hear in moſt Churches in *London*, where I come; and I endeavour to have all others honour them: And though I am by the Canon *ipſo facto* excommunicate, they ſhall put me out from them before I will depart. But for the *Church*, and *Kingdom*, and their *Conſciences* ſake, I beg of the Clergy, that before they any more render odious thoſe whom they never heard, and urge Rulers to execute the *Laws* againſt them, that is, to confine, impriſon, excommunicate, ſilence and undo them, they would be ſure *what manner of ſpirit they are of*; and that this is *acceptable to God*, and *profitable to the Land*, or to *themſelves*, and that which the *Churches Experience* commendeth. My honeſt friend, whom I once perſwaded from Anabaptiſtry, writing againſt *Separation*, ſaith, that when he *ſaw here a leg, and there an arm in the way, it was time for him to ſtop.*

But

But in *Church-hiſtory* I have had a ſadder ſight, even the carkaſſes of thouſands, ſtreams of blood, and tumults in the chief Cities and Churches of the world, the Crowns of Emperours & Kings, the loſs of the Eaſtern Empire, the generation of the Papacie, the reproach of Chriſtianity, and that by *Clergie-Domination, and Contention*, ſtriving who ſhould *be Greateſt* and *ſeem wiſeſt*. Some ſay, *If we take in a few moderate men like you, what the better are we? Anſ.* More than you dream of, are far better than I: I hope few are worſe; Biſhop *Morley* bid *Ab uno diſce omnes*: Shall *London* have no clocks unleſs they will all ſtrike at once? ſhall none be tolerated but the *perfect?* Are you ſuch your ſelves? Do you differ in nothing? how then ſhall we have Communion with you when we differ in all the things here deſcribed? Pardon me for ſaying, I think that Mr. *Tombs* hath ſaid more like truth for Anabaptiſtry, the late Hungarian for Polygamy, many for drunkenneſs, ſtealing and lying, in caſes of neceſſity, than ever I yet read for the lawfulneſs of all that I have here deſcribed. And what is it that ſome men cannot copiouſly and confidently talk for? And what wretched Reaſons be they that have hindred *Englands* unity and peace? And how fully hath *Rom.* 14. and 15. and our Common intereſt and notorious experience confuted them! I have

have long wondered what powerful cause it is, that with such men and so many, could so long prevail against such evidence and light. If *you will not hear, those will whom God will use to the healing of his Churches: and blessed are the Peacemakers* for (though you call them otherwise) they *shall be called the Children of God.* I have prefixed the words of some as our admonition; and I have written with this a fuller Treatise of the *only true terms of the Concord of all* Christian Churches, and of the false terms which they never will unite in, but are the causes of Schism. I commit all with my self living and dying, to him that is the Lord of the dead and living, and will shortly judge us all in righteousness. Come Lord Jesus; and prepare us for thy Coming. *Amen.*

THE

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SECT. I.

The Reasons of this writing, and the sense of the word [CHURCH.]

IT was the saying of acute and holy *Augustine* (though we call him not with *Fromondus Omniscium*) [that *no man ought to be patient under an accusation of Heresie.*] He meaneth by *Patience*, a *silent neglect of his own just Vindication*: Not that we must be like Hectoring *Duellers*, that would kill or hurt others in revenge, or in a sinful way of Vindication: But by silence, those that slander men may be encouraged in their sin to their own destruction, and those that value the slandered persons may be tempted to think too well of Heresie for their sakes: And the honour of God, and his Truth, and our own good names, so far as they are serviceable, are none of them to be disregarded. We have with grieved souls beheld the Land of our Nativity

distracted by Divisions; and much, if not most *about Religion*, (we wish it were not *against Religion*, by some that indeed *have no true Religion*:) Teachers against Teachers, in Discourses, Sermons, Books, rendring each other despicable, and unlovely, and some calling out aloud to Rulers to draw the Sword against their Brethren; so learnedly and industriously pleading the Cause against each other with the Laity, high and low, as if the destroying of their Love, and kindling Wrath and Hatred, were the Evangelical necessary work; and without this zeal, and skill, and diligence hard to be accomplished. No wonder then if we have people against people, families divided, and all confounded; and this grievous *Schism* carryed on, by crying out against each other as Schismaticks, and implacably *causing* it while we loudly inveigh against it. The case is lamentable, that distraction should be thus expressed and promoted; and when God hath warned us by the mischiefs of an odious Civil War, and hath tryed us again with peace with all Nations about us, when most of them are involved in grievous Wars, that yet we will not give peace to one another, but live as if Peace were the Plague which we most desire to escape.

Yet as it is the good providence of God, that the Names of *Wisdom*, *Godliness*, *Truth*, *Justice*, *Mercy*, *Honesty* and *Vertue*, are all still honourable even among those that hate and oppose them; and the *names* of *Folly*, *Ungodliness*, *Lying*, *Injustice*, *Unmercifulness*, *Dishonesty* and *Vice*, are all dishonourable where the *things* themselves are followed and prevail; so *Love*, *Peace*,

Peace and *Concord*, are names that are by moſt commended; when if moſt were for the *things* indeed, we were in a hopeful way of recovery: And *Malice*, *Schiſm* and *Diſcord*, are cryed down by thoſe, whom no intreary will prevail with to forbear them, or to accept any remedy againſt them.

Yet we are thus far prepared for peace, that if we be not falſe Hypocrites, if we did *but know* which is the true way of *Love*, *Peace* and *Concord*, we would follow it: And if we *knew* what is Schiſm indeed, we would avoid it. And its pity that men that think themſelves wiſe ſhould yet *not know* the way of Love and Peace: Eſpecially that the Learned Preachers of the Goſpel of Love and Peace, ſhould ſtill be the incendiaries, and ſtir up the Laity that would be more peaceable, againſt each other. And that after ſo many Volumes of Hiſtory have theſe thirteen hundred years at leaſt, aſperſt the Clergy with the reproach of being the contentious troublers of the world. And yet muſt we deſpair of a cure of ſo odious a diſeaſe?

The thing that *Books*, *Sermons*, and *Diſcourſes*, *cry* out againſt thoſe called *Non Conformiſts* for, is *Humorous*, *Obſtinate Schiſm*, and *Diſobedience*, *in Preaching*, *when forbidden*, and *keeping up Aſſemblies not allowed*, and *gathering Churches out of Churches*, & *ſeparating from the Pariſh-Communion*, *and Church of England*. If we can find out the Schiſmatick, we hope he will be condemned by us all. But that the Cauſe may be heard at leaſt in ſome part, before it is judged, we that publiſh this, here give an account of our *own judgment*, and thoſe that *we are beſt acquainted with*,

how far we hold it lawful or unlawful to *gather Churches*, or to *separate from Churches*, or to *differ* from what is established by Authority: But the Application to our particular Case, and our Arguments thereabout, we must not here presume to publish.

They that accuse others as Schismaticks, and Separatists, for deserting Churches, or gathering Churches out of Churches, and will not tell us what they mean by the word *Church*, nor give us leave to tell them what we mean, but judge in confusion, and despise explication, and necessary distinction, are men that we can neither be edified by, nor edifie, in this way.

SECT. II.

The Various Opinions of such us we have to do with.

Sect. 1. BEcause men will judge of such Causes according to their several Principles, and Presuppositions, we must take notice of some of the divers Principles of those whose censure we must expect: (Though not of inconsiderable Sects.)

Sect. II. And 1. Some say that *no humane Form* of Church-Government, and of Churches, as governed, is of *God's Institution* (or as they say, *Jure Divino*,) but that it is left to humane prudence.

Sect. III. 2. Some hold only an *Universal Church* (governed by a *Pope*, say some of them, or

or by a *General Council while sitting*, and a *Pope* in the *Intervals*, say others, or by a *Pope* and *Council* agreeing while it sits, and a Pope in the Intervals, say others) to be *Jure Divino*, and all particular Church-Forms as subordinate, left to the prudence of this Universal Governour as Supreme; as Inferiour Officers in Kingdoms are made by the King.

Sect. IV. 3. Some hold that this *Universal Church-Form*, and also *Diocesan*, and no other, are instituted of God.

Sect. V. 4. Some hold that the Universal, Patriarchal, Metropolitical (or Provincial) Diocesan, and Parochial, are *jure divino*, or instituted by Christ and his Apostles.

Sect. VI. 5. Some hold that only Diocesan Churches, and Metropolitical or Provincial, are *jure divino*, and not the universal: And of these some take Diocesan Churches, for those only that contain many fixed Assemblies, and some for such as have one Bishop, whether over one Congregation, or over multitudes. Saith the very learned Dr. *Hamond*, in 1 Tim. 3. [*The Church of the living God, was every such regular Assembly of Christians under a Bishop* (*such as* Timothy *was*) *an* Oeconomus *set over them by Christ*: *Such again every larger circuit under the Metropolitane, who as* Timothy *had* χειροτονίαν καὶ χειρῶν, *Ordination and Jurisdiction over the whole Province. And such all the particular Churches of the whole world, considered together under the Supreme Head Christ Jesus, dispensing them all by himself, and administring them severally, not by any one Oeconomus, but by the several Bishops as inferiour Heads of Unity to the several Bodies, so con-*

constituted by the several Apostles in their plantations, each of them having an Αὐτονομία, *a several distinct Commission from Christ immediately and subordinate to none, but the supreme Donor or Plenipotentiary.* He here supposeth (as he elsewhere sheweth) that *de facto, Episcopal Churches were in Scripture-times but single Congregations*; but that after it was otherwise: And whether *then* the *New Form* of Congregations were *jure divino*, when they became *but Parts of a Bishops Church*, we leave to the *Readers* conjecture; as also of the New Form of a Diocesan Church.

Sect. VII. 6. Some hold that *National Churches*, that is, *Christian Kingdoms*, as governed by the *Soveraign, Secular Power*, are instituted by God, and that all Church-Forms else within that Kingdom, are *jure humano*, at the pleasure of the King, so be it that worshiping-Assemblies be kept up, and Bishops and Priests placed as it shall please the King.

Sect. VIII. 7. Some think that Dioceſans (or Bishops whether over one Congregation or many) are instituted by God (and some say also *Archbishops*;) and that these have power *by consent* or *contract* among themselves, to make Patriarchal and National Churches: And so that these *National* and *Patriarchal* Churches are *jure divino mediato*, but *jure humano immediato*, and are rather made by the *consent of Bishops*, than by *Kings*: And so under Heathen Kings the Churches may be National.

Sect. IX. 8. Some think that *Parochial Churches* (consisting of Christians distinguished by the *circuit of ground*) and combinations of these into *Synods* less and greater, *Classical, National,*

nal, are *jure divino,* and no other lawful.

Sect. X. 9. Some think that only *Parochial Churches ordinarily,* and *single Congregations* of any *Neighbour Christians,* when *Parish* Order *cannot* be observed, are *jure divino.*

Sect. XI. 10. And some think that only such *single Congregations* of Christians, with their *Chosen Pastors,* without any necessary respect to *Parish bounds,* are properly called *Churches* of *Divine Institution,* though these Churches may and should hold such associations, as correspondence and mutual help require.

Sect. XII. There being so many sorts of Churches in the world, (as Universal, National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitical, Diocesan, Classical, Parochial, Congregational) it is hard to give a just decision of the question, *From which of these, and when it is a sin to separate*; till it be first known which of these is *Divine,* and which of *Humane Institution,* and which *Humane Churches* are *necessary,* which *lawful,* and which *sinful.* And it must be known of which the question is. And while there is so signal a diversity of Judgment, about the several Forms, the nature of *Schism* will be hardlier opened.

SECT. III.

What Churches we hold to be instituted by God, and what not.

Sect. I. OUR own Judgment we shall plainly express in this following Order:

1. We shall shew what Church we judge to be of God's Institution, and what not. 2. What about Churches the Magistrates or Pastors may institute by God's Authority or allowance: And what they may not institute. 3. In what cases it is lawful to gather Churches where Churches are: In what cases it is lawful to separate from Churches; and in what cases neither of these last is lawful.

Sect. II. 1. All Christians are agreed that Christ is the Author of the *Universal* Church, (considered both as *Baptized*, or *Externally covenanting* and *professing*, called *Visible*, and as *Regenerate* and *sincerely Covenanting*, called *Mystical*) as it is Headed by *Christ* himself, and called his Body, and his special Kingdom.

Sect. III. 2. We doubt not but Christ hath instituted the *Office* of the sacred *Ministry*, to be under him as the *Teacher*, *Ruler*, and *High Priest* of the *Church*, in *Teaching*, *Guiding*, and *Worshipping*: And that he hath instituted *holy Assemblies* and *Societies* for these things to be exercised in: And that [a *Society* of *Neighbour Christians associated with such a Pastor or Pastors, for personal Communion herein*, even in such *Doctrine*, *Discipline* and *Worship*] is a Church-Form of Divine Institution.

Sect. IV. If they be not [*Christians*] by Baptism, or visible Profession, they be not *visible Materials* for a Church.

If they be not [*Neighbours*] that is, within reach of each other, so as to be *capable* of such Communion, they are not *matter* that hath the necessary extrinsecal disposition.

If they be not [*associated*] explicitely or implicitely,

plicitely, by ſome ſignification of *Conſent*, they may be an accidental Aſſembly, but not a proper *Chriſtian Church*.

If they be not aſſociated [*for this holy Communion*] they may be a *Civil Society*, but not a *Church*.

If they be not aſſociated [*for Perſonal Communion*] at ſome due ſeaſons, but only for *Communion* at *diſtance* by *Delegates*, *Meſſengers* or *Letters*, they are not a *Particular Church* of this *ſpecies* now defined, though they may be members of larger aſſociations, National, Dioceſan, &c.

If they are not aſſociate with one or more *Paſtors*, they may be a *Community* of Chriſtians, but not a *Political Church*, which we now define.

If they are not joyned with a Paſtor that hath *all the foreſaid Powers*, of *Teaching*, *Ruling by the Word and Keys*, and *going before* them in *Worſhip*; and if they *conſent* not to his *relation as ſuch*, they may make a *School*, or an *Oratory*, but not a *proper particular Church ſimpliciter*, ſo called [but only a Church *ſecundum quid*, or as to *ſome part*;] for an *Eſſential* part is wanting. But it is not the defect of *Exerciſe* that unchurcheth them, while there is the *Power*, and that *conſented to* (for Men cannot be *Paſtors* or *Churches againſt their wills.*)

Sect. V. 3. As all Chriſtians grant that the *Apoſtles* had a *general* Commiſſion to *call Infidels* to Chriſt, and to *plant* Churches with their particular Paſtors as aforeſaid, and to take care that their *Paſtor and they* do the duties, (not compelling them by their *Sword*, but by the *Word*,) ſo we are far from denying that yet

ſome

some Ministers of Christ may, and should seek the *conversion of Infidels*, and *plant Churches* of the converted, *ordaining Pastors* over them by *their consent*, and taking due care by their grave advise that such Churches walk in the obedience of Christ, as far as they can procure it; And such *Seniors* which have *so planted these Churches and Pastors* by Gods blessing on their labours, should be much reverenced by the Churches which they *have planted*, and their just advise, exhortations and admonitions should be heard by the *People* and the *Pastors whom they ordained*, and all their juniors: And though the Apostles have no successours in their extraordinaries, yet that some should in this *ordinary work* succeed them, we deny not, because 1. We find that it is a work still necessary to be done: 2. And others as well as Apostles did it in those times; as *Silas*, *Luke*, *Apollo*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, &c. and since, all such as have planted the Gospel among Infidels. 3. Because Christ promised to be with them that did this work to the end of the world, *Mat.*28.21. But whether such men be of a different *office* or *order* from the *junior* Pastors; whether any true *Presbyter* that hath ability, opportunity and invitation, may not do the same work with Infidels; and by his success, and seniority may not so *ordain* Pastors over the Churches which he gathered; and have an answerable right to reverence and regard from those that he so planteth, and ordaineth; are controversies which we presume not now to decide.

And we cannot prove that this maketh a distinct *form* of a Church, no not in the *Apostles* time and case: For we cannot prove that they

they distributed the Countrys into *Provinces* or *Dioceses* peculiar to each Apostle; and had any Churches which they supposed to be peculiarly under this or that Apostles Government so as that any of the rest might not with Apostolical power have come, resided, preacht and governed in the same: No Scripture tells us of such limits & Provinces. Nay the Scripture tells us, that many of them were as Apostles at once in the same places: As at *Jerusalem* ost. *Paul* and *John* had Apostolical power at *Ephesus*: *Peter* and *Paul* (as is commonly held) at *Rome*: And its probable that as Christ sent forth his disciples by two and two, so the Apostles went in company, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* did: so that such *appropriate settlement* of *Provincial* or *Diocesan Churches*, we cannot see proved; though such a *Generall Ministry* is easily proved; and we doubt not but by consent they *might* have distributed their Provinces, had they seen cause, and that actually they did so distribute their *labours* as their work and ends required: But if they had become proper Provincial Bishops over several Districts or Provinces, it seemeth strange to us that no history telleth us which *were* the *twelve* or *thirteen Provinces*, and how limited; and that they continued not *longer*; and that instead of *three Patriarchs* first, and four after, and five next, we had not *twelve* or *thirteen Apostles* or *Patriarchs seated* over all the world, with their known divisions; And that men seek not now to reduce the Churches to this *Primitive State*, rather than to the said *Imperial Constitution*; and rather to subject us all to the *Apostolical Seats*, than to *five Patriarchs* in the dominions of *another*

ther Princes, and now mostly subject to an Infidel. Yea it is strange to us that the first Seat (*Rome*) should derive its pretended power from two Apostles (as if our Church might have two Bishops) and the second (*Alexandria*) from Saint *Mark*, who was *no Apostle*, and the third (*Antioch*) from the *same Apostle* that *Rome* did, (as if *one Bishop* might have *two such* Dioceses,) and the fourth (*Jerusalem*) from St. *James*, commonly said to be *no Apostle*; and the last (which became the second or the first) from *no Apostle*, nor make any such *pretence*; if thirteen Apostolick Provinces were then known.

But we easily acknowledge, that as Apostles having planted many Churches staid a while in each, when they had setled it, and some time visited it again; so they are by some historians called the *first Bishops* of those Churches, being indeed the *transient Governours* of them: In which sense *one Church* might at once have *two or many Bishops*, and *one Bishop* many *Churches*, and he be Bishop of one Church this week, who was Bishop of another where he came the next.

Sect. VI. Christian *Community*, (prepared to be a Polity) and a Christian *family*, and a Christian *Kingdom*, we doubt not may all prove their *Divine Right*; And if any will call these *Churches*, let us agree of the *definition*, and we will not *strive about* the name.

Sect. VII. We know not of any proof that ever was produced, that *many Churches* of the *first Rank*, *must* (of duty) make *one fixed greater compound Church*, by Association, whether Classical, Diocesan, Provincial, Patriarchal, or National: and that God hath instituted any such Form: And we find the

the greateſt defenders of Prelacy, affirming that Claſſes, Provincial, Patriarchal, and National Churches, are but humane inſtitutions; of which more anon.

Sect. VIII. We find no proof that ever God determined the Churches ſhould neceſſarily be individuated by Pariſh-bounds or limits of ground; and that men in the ſame limits might not have divers Biſhops, and be of divers particular Churches.

Sect. IX. We never ſaw any ſatisfactory proof that ever Chriſt or his Apoſtles did inſtitute *any particular Church* (taken in a *Political ſenſe* as *organized*, and not meerly for a *Community*) without a Biſhop or Paſtor, who had the power of Teaching them, Ruling them by the Word and Power of the Church-Keys, and leading them in publick Worſhip.

Sect. X. Nor did we ever ſee it proved, that any *one Church* of this *firſt Rank* (which was not an *Aſſociation of Churches*) conſiſted in Scripture-times of many (much leſs many ſcore or hundred) ſuch fixed Churches or Congregations: Or that any one Biſhop of the firſt Rank (that was not an Apoſtle, or a Biſhop of Biſhops) of whom we now ſpeak not, had more than one of ſuch fixed Societies or Churches under him: Or might have more ſtated members of his Church, than were capable of *Perſonal Communion*, and mutual aſſiſtance at due ſeaſons, in holy *Doctrine, Diſcipline* and *Worſhip*: Though we doubt not but as now, there are many Chapels in ſome Pariſhes, where the aged, weak, children, and all in foul weather, or by *other* hinderances may hear, and pray, and occaſionally communicate,

nicate, whose proximity and relation to the Parish-Churches do make them capable of *Personal Communion* in due seasons with the whole Parish (at least *per vices*) in those Churches, and in their conversation: And as a single Congregation may prudently in persecution, or foul weather, meet oft-times in several houses; so the great Church of *Jerusalem* (though it cannot be proved a quarter so big as some of our Parishes) might in those times when they had no Temples, hold their publick Meetings oft at the same time in divers houses; and yet be capable of *Personal Communion*, as it is before described.

Sect. II. It is not inconsiderable to our confirmation, that so worthy a man as Dr. *Hamond* doth over and over, in his *Dissertations* against *Blondell*, and in his Learned Annotations on the new Testament, assert all the matter of fact which we are pleading for, *viz.* That the word [*Presbyter*] and [*Pastor*] in the New Testament is ever taken for a Bishop: That it belonged to the Bishops office to be the Preacher to his Church, to visit all the Sick, to take care of all the Poor, and to take Charge of the Churches stock, to administer the Sacrament, &c. And (as he saith on *Acts* 11. 6.) "*That although this Title of* πρεσβύτεροι, *Elders*, "*have been also extended to a second order in the* "*Church, and is now only in use for them, under* "*the name of Presbyters, yet in the Scripture-* "*time it belonged principally, if not alone, to* "*Bishops, there being* NO EVIDENCE "*that any of that second Order were then* "*instituted, though soon after before the writing of* "Ignatius's Epistles, *there were such instituted in* "*all Churches.*]

Sect.

Sect. XII. By this it followeth, that 1. the office of a ſubject Presbyter that was no Biſhop was not in being (that can be proved) in Scripture-times. 2. That no Biſhop had more than one worſhiping aſſembly at once: For all Chriſtians aſſembled for worſhip on the Lords dayes, and their worſhip ſtill included ſomewhat which none but a Miniſter of Chriſt might do, and when there was no other Miniſter in being but Biſhops, and a Biſhop can be but in one place at once, a Biſhop could have but one aſſembly. Though for our parts we think that we have juſt reaſon to believe, that Churches then had more Miniſters than one, when we read how *Paul* was put to reſtrain and regulate their publick officiating at *Corinth*, 1 *Cor.* 14.

Sect. XIII. And it further confirmeth us, that the ſaid Doctor tells us, that for ought he knoweth, the moſt of the Church then were of his mind: And *Franciſcus a ſancta clara de Epiſcop.* tells us, that this opinion came from *Scotus*: And *Petavius*, that Learned Jeſuit, was the man that brought it in, in our times, *viz. That the Apoſtles placed only Biſhops with Deacons in the Churches, and that it is only theſe Biſhops that are called Presbyters in Scripture.* So that the Matter of fact, for the whole Scripture-times, is granted us by all theſe learned men.

Sect. XIV. It being the *Divine Inſtitution* of the *Office* of this *ſecond Order* of Presbyters, which we are unſatisfied about; and theſe Reverend men confeſſing that *de facto* they were not in being (as can be proved by any evidence) in *Scripture-times*, and thoſe times extending to about

about the hundredth or ninety ninth year after Christs Nativity (when St. *John* wrote the *Revelation*) we must confess that we know not how that Order or Office can be proved then to be of God's institution. 1. As to the *Efficient*; *who should do it* as the certain authorized Instruments of *God*. 2. Or *how it shall be certainly proved to us* to be of *God*, when Scripture telleth it not to us; and what Records of it are infallible; And whether such pretended proofs of *Tradition* as a *supplement to Scripture*, be not that which the Papacy is built on, and will not serve *their* turn as well as this.

Sect. XV. And whereas it is said that the Bishops made in Scripture-times had authority given them to make afterward that *second Office* or *Order* of *Presbyters*: 1. We cannot but marvel then that in such great Churches, as that at *Jerusalem*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, &c. they should never use their Power in all the Scripture-times. And when they had so many Elders at *Jerusalem*, so many Prophets and Teachers at *Antioch* and *Corinth*, that *Paul* was fain to restrain their exercises, and bid them prophesie but One by One; and one said, I am of *Paul*, and another, I am of *Apollo*, &c. there should yet in that age be *none* found meet for Bishops to ordain to this *second sort* of *Presbyters*, as well as men to make Deacons of.

2. But we never yet saw the proof produced, that indeed the Bishops had *power given* them to institute this *other Species* of Elders. Sure it belonged to the *Founders* of the Churches (Christ and his Apostles) to institute the *Species* of Ecclesiastical Officers, though the Bishops might

might make the *Individuals* afterwards. And where is the proof that the *Apoſtles* did inſtitute it? If Eccleſiaſtical generation imitate natural, the Biſhops would beget but *their like*: men beget men; ſo Phyſicians make Phyſicians, and ſo Biſhops may beget Biſhops: But he that ſaith they could morally firſt beget this *other Species*, muſt prove it.

Sect. XVI. When *Presbyters* were firſt diſtinct from Biſhops, we ſee no proof that it was as a diſtinct *Office* or *Order* in *ſpecie*, and not only as a *diſtinct degree* and *priviledge* of men in the ſame *Office*: Nor hath the Church of *Rome* it ſelf thought meet to determine this *as de fide* but ſuffereth its Doctors to hold the contrary.

Sect. XVII. It much confirmeth us in our judgment, that no mere Biſhop then had *more Churches than one* (as afore deſcribed) when we find that *Ignatius* (whoſe authority Dr. *Hamond Diſſert. cont. Blondel*: Laieth ſo much of the cauſe upon, and whom Biſhop *Pierſon* hath lately ſo induſtriouſly vindicated) doth expreſly make ONE ALTAR, and ONE BISHOP with the Presbyters and Deacons, to be the note of a *Church Unity* and *Individuation*. And that by *one Altar* is meant *one Table* of *Communion*, or *place* where that *Table ſtood*, is paſt doubt with the judicious and impartial. Whence learned Mr. *Joſeph Mede* doth argue as certain that then a Biſhops Church was *no other than ſuch as uſually communicated in one place*. Yea, ſaith *Ignatius*, the Biſhop muſt *take notice and account of each perſon*, even of *Man-ſervants* and *Maids* (that they come to the Church). And this was the Biſhop of a Seat, that after was

Patriarchal: Such Bishops we do not oppose.

Sect. XVIII. We find proof that ordinarily Churches were first planted in *Cities* (there being not then in the *Villages* Christians enough to make Churches:) But we find no proof that when there are Christians enough to constitute Churches, they may not be planted in Villages also: Nor yet that there may not be more Churches than one in the same City: For so *Grotius* saith, There were even then when Christians were comparatively but few, and that they were as the Jewish Synagogues in this respect. And Dr. *Hamond* largely asserteth that *Peter* had a Church of *Jews*, and *Paul* another of *Gentiles* at *Rome*, and that so it was in other Cities.

Sect. XIX. Much less is it by Divine Institution, that Bishops, and their Churches or Seats, be only in such as *we now call Cities*, which by their priviledges are distinct from other great Towns and Corporations, whenas the word Πόλις then signified a *great Town* or *Corporation*, such as our Market-Towns and Corporations now are.

Sect. XX. But it is the Law of God that all things about Churches and Church-affairs which he hath left to humane prudence, should be done according to such general Rules as he hath prescribed for their regulation.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

What Princes and Pastors may do in such matters.

I. THese foresaid General Laws of God, do both *give the Rulers their Power* for determining things committed to them, and also *limit* their power therein.

II. These General Laws are, that *All things be done to Edification* (the circumstances fitted to the *End*, the *Glory of God*, and the *Publick Good*, the promoting of *Truth and Godliness*;) that all be done in *Love*, to the promoting of *Love and Unity*; and that all be done in *Order* and *Decently*, and as may avoid *offence* or *scandal* to all, both those without, and those within. *Gal.* 6. 15, 16. *Phil.* 3. 15. 16. 1 *Cor.* 14. 3, 5, 12. 26 17. *Rom.* 14 19. & 15. 2. 1 *Cor.* 10. 23. *Ephes.* 4. 12, 16, 19. 2 *Cor.* 12. 19. & 6. 3. & 11. 7. 1 *Cor.* 8. 13.

III. Therefore no Rulers, Civil or Ecclesiastical, have their power to scandalize and *destroy*, but only to *edifie*, being the Ministers of God for good, *Rom.* 13. 3, 4. 5. 2 *Cor.* 10. 8. & 13. 10.

IV. The great Dispute is (handled excellently against the Papists for Kings by *Bishop Bilson of Christian Obedience*, *Bishop Andrews Tortura Torti*, *Bishop Buckeridge*, *Spalatensis*, and many more) *whether the Kings of Christian Kingdoms have not the same power about Church-matters, as the Kings of Israel and Judah had*

(*David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah,* &c.) which cannot be answered by an only *Yea* or *Nay*, without a more particular consideration of the compared Cases.

V. We suppose it certain that Christian Kings have *no lesser* power than the Kings of *Israel*, except 1. What any such King had as a *Prophet*, or in peculiar, by an *extraordinary grant*. 2. And what alteration is made by *alteration of Church-offices, Laws, and Worship*, which may make a difference; of which hereafter.

VI. And 1. It must be remembred that God then reserved the *Legislation* to *himself*, which he exercised by *Revelation*, and by special *Prophets*: And so the *Prophet Moses* delivered them that *Law*, which no King had power to abrogate, suspend, or alter by adding or diminishing, *Deut.* 12. 32. *Jos.* 1. But they had a *mandatory* power, and of making some *subordinate By-laws*, as Cities and Corporations have from and under the King.

VII. 2. Yea *great* and *special Mandates* were oft sent from God by *Prophets*, against which the Kings of *Israel* had no power.

VIII. 3. The *Executive* or *Judicial* Power was *divided*: part was in the Kings and Magistrates; and part was in the *Priests* and *Levites*, which the King could not usurp himself (as appeareth in *Uzziahs* offering Incense,) nor yet forbid the Priests to use it, according to God's Law; nor change or abrogate their Office. For *he* and *they* were subject to God's Laws.

IX. 4. God himself settled the *High Priesthood* on the *line of Aaron*, and *all the Priesthood*

hood on the *Tribe of Levi*; and it was not in the power of the King to alter it.

X. 5. God ſtated the High Prieſthood on the Prieſts *during life*, *Numb.* 35. 25, 28. *Joſ.* 20. 6, &c. which Law the Kings had no power to violate.

XI. 6. There are more particular Laws made by God for the duty of the Prieſts, deſcribing their office and work, than for any other particular caſe, as many hundred Texts will tell us: And none of theſe Laws might be altered, or ſuſpended by the Kings of *Iſrael*: Nor thoſe by which God ſtated ſome of the Judicial Power in the Congregation, *Num.* 35. 12. to 26.

XII. 7. *Solomon's* putting out *Abiathar*, and putting in *Zadok*, is not contrary to any of this: For (ſuppoſing the words 1 *King.* 2. 35. to be not only a hiſtory of the bare matter of fact, but a juſtification of it *de jure.*) 1. It poſeth learned men to reſolve how *Zadok* and *Abiathar* are oft ſaid to be both High Prieſts before, and *Zadok* ſtill put before *Abiathar*. 2. It is certain that *Zadok* had the right both of *Inheritance* and *eſpecial Promiſe*, *Numb.* 25. 11, 12, 13. 1 *Chron.* 6. 3, 4, &c. And what *Solomon* did was that the *word of the Lord might be fulfilled.* How the poſſeſſion came into the hands of the line of *Ithamar*, Expoſitors cannot find: It is like it was by occaſion of the confuſions of their oft Captivity and Anarchy in the interſpace of the Judges. 3. Even the Prieſts were the King's ſubjects, and might be puniſhed for their crimes, ſo it were according to God's Laws. And if *Abiathar* forfeited his life, he forfeited his Office.

XIII. 8. The Prieſthood then depended not on the inſtitution or will of the King or People: He might not put out a lawful Prieſt, that had not forfeited his Life or Office: He might not have put any one in his place that had not right from God, or that was unqualified: He might not have forbid the Prieſts the work appointed them by God: But yet if *he had injuriouſly* depoſed *one Abiathar*, and put in a *Zadok*, the loſs had been little to the Church: But if he had depoſed ſo *great a number* of the Prieſts and Levites, as that a great part of God's commanded work muſt needs thereby have been left undone, and Religion ſo far deſtroyed, or had as *Jeroboam*, put of the baſeſt of the people (or uncapable perſons) into the Prieſthood, the loſs had been greater, and the thing unwarrantable, and ſuch as he had not power from God to do.

XIV. And the quality of *Moſes Law* and its *Works*, as different from the Laws of Chriſt, and the Works thereof, muſt be conſidered, that we may diſcern the difference of the Caſes. A man that did attempt to draw the people to Idolatry, was then to be put to death; yea, the City to be deſtroyed that concealed him, *Deut. ch.* 3 ſo were they that blaſphemed, and ſuch as committed other heinous crimes againſt Religion; yea thoſe that would not enter *into*, or renew their Covenant with God, were by *Aſa's* command to be put to death: But Chriſt will have mens Atheiſm, Irreligiouſneſs, Idolatry and Infidelity, cured by the Preaching of the Truth, which therefore requireth that the Preachers for number and qualification be anſwerable to

their

their work: especially seeing they are things so mysterious and supernaturally revealed, which men are to believe: And the works of *Moses*'s Law lay very much in ceremony and outward actions, which a man of mean qualifications might easily do: But the great work of the Gospel is to *bring Life and Immortality to light*, and to Preach Christ, by whom came *Grace and Truth*, and more notably than the Law of *Moses* did, to call men to Mortification, Self-denial, Cross-bearing, contempt of the World, by Faith and Hope and Love of a better World, and to bring them to a heavenly mind and life: And mens salvation is laid on this. If it were but to offer Sacrifices, and do over the task of outward Ceremonies, a Mass-Priests qualifications might serve the turn: And if it were but to put men to death that will not be *Jews*, and take their Covenant, and that draw any from their Religion, neither so *many* nor so *excellent* Ministers were necessary: But we are under a better Covenant, even a Law of Love which is more eminently become the first and last, the great and new Commandment, and the regent Principle in Souls and Churches; and the number and quality of the Preachers of it must be answerable.

XV. As *Moses* was God's ministerial Lawgiver to the *Israelites*, and was faithful in all his trust; so Christ is the *great Prophet like unto him*, as typified by him, whom God hath raised up to his Church, whom they that *hear not*, shall be cut off by God, and from that Church as he hath appointed: The *Legislation Universal* is now the *work of Christ* by himself,

and by the Holy Ghoſt, which he promiſed and gave for that uſe to his Apoſtles, that they might infallibly underſtand his will, and remember what he had commanded them to teach the world.

XVI. *Kings* or *Paſtors* may not now alter or ſuſpend any of theſe *Laws of Chriſt*, any more than the Jewiſh Kings or Prieſts might alter or ſuſpend the Laws of *Moſes*.

XVII. Chriſt hath inſtituted a Miniſtry to be for ever ſtabliſhed in the world, to Preach his Goſpel, to convert volunteers unto Faith and Holineſs, and to gather by Baptiſm all Conſenters into his Covenant and Church, and to teach them all that he hath commanded them. And this none have power to overthrow.

XVIII. He hath ſtated on the Paſtors of ſuch Churches, the Power afore deſcribed, of Teaching Aſſemblies and particular perſons, of leading them in publick Worſhip, and Sacraments, and of judging by the power of the Keys, whom to receive into their communion by Baptiſm, and profeſſion of Faith, and whom to admoniſh, and for obſtinate impenitence to reject: And this Inſtitution none may alter.

XIX. He hath inſtituted ordinary Aſſemblies, and ſtated particular Churches, as is aforeſaid, for theſe holy exerciſes, and forbad all Chriſtians to forſake them; and he and his Apoſtles have appointed and ſeparated the Lord's day hereunto. None therefore may abrogate or ſuſpend theſe Laws. All this is proved, *Matth.* 28. 19,20. & 16.19. & 18. 18,19. *Joh.* 20. 23. *Luk.* 12. 37, 38. *Mat.* 21.36. & 22. 4, 5, &c. & 24. 45,46. *Heb.* 10.25,26. *Act.* 11.26. 1 *Cor.* 14. *Epheſ.*

Ephes. 4. 4. to 17. 1 *Thes.* 5. 12, 13. *Heb.* 13. 17, 24. *Tit.* 1. 5, 6, &c. 1 *Tim.* 3. *Act.* 14. 23. *Act.* 20. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1 &c.

XX. Christs Laws empower and oblige the Bishops or *senior* Pastors to Ordain others for this Ministerial service of the Church, and so to propagate their order to the end of the world: By which Ordination, 1. They are *Judges of the persons qualifications*, whether he be such as Christs Laws admit into his Ministry. 2. And they *solemnly invest him* in the office. But the *Power* with which they ministerially invest him (delivering him possession as Christ appointed) *resulteth directly* from the *Law or Donation of Christ*; As the power of a *Mayor* from the *Charter* of the King, and not from the *Electors* or *Investers*. None therefore have power given them by Christ, to *hinder* such *Ordination* and *Propagation* of such a Ministry, *Act.* 14. 23. *Tit.* 1. 5.

XXI. So exceeding great are the benefits and priviledges of being *members of Christ*, and *his Church universal* and *particular*, that no *unwilling* person is immediately capable of it: Nor is it possible *ex natura rei*, for any (adult) person that *consenteth not* to be a Christian, or a Member of any particular Church. He cannot be a *just Communicant against his will*; nor *pray* and *praise* God with the Church; nor take a man for *his Pastor*, or *use him* as a Pastor, *against his will*: And God hath laid mens *salvation* or *damnation* on the choice or refusal of their wills. Therefore no man can be the *Bishop or Pastor* of a Church, either *de jure*, or truly *de facto*, against the Church or Peoples will, or without

their consent. And as the *Nature* of the thing proveth this, so doth the sacred Scripture, *Act.* 14. 23. & 2. 37 38. 1 *Joh.* 1. 7. *Mat.* 28. 19.

And so doth the judgment and practice of Christ's Church, for many hundred years; which is so fully proved by *Blondell, de jure plebis*, and confessed by the Papists themselves, and so express in all antiquity, that we need not add the proof. Therefore no power may change this *Law of Nature*, and *of Christ*; nor can they by any Law, Mandate, Choice, Ordination, Institution, Imposition, or other act, make any man a *real Pastor* to that People that *consent not* to the relation. Nor are they *any true particular Churches*, where *Pastor and People* do not consent. No more than the relation of *Husband and Wife, Master and Servant, Tutor and Scholars*, can be *without consent*.

XXII. Christ and his Spirit have *commanded* his *Ministers* to *preach the Word, to be instant in season and out of season; to reprove, rebuke and exhort*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. And having *put their hand to Christ's Plough*, not to *look back*; and none hath power to alter this Law of Christ, or to suspend it. His Ministers by his Authority preached against the will of Princes for above three hundred years; and since then against the wills of erroneous Princes who professed Christianity.

XXIII. If Church-History be not to be believed, the pleas thence used for Prelacy must cease: If it be to be believed, God hath wrought miracles to justifie those that would not cease Preaching, when Princes, yea Christian-Princes, have forbidden them: And the Church hath honoured

honoured their fidelity herein: The case of *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Meletius*, and abundance more, evince the later: And for the former we will now instance but in the case of the Bishops of *Africa*, whose tongues were cut out by the King's command; and they spake freely by miracle after they were cut out; as is testified by *Æneas Gazeus*, and by *Victor Uticensis*, who saw and spake with, and heard the persons when this miracle was wrought upon them; and by *Procopius*.

XXIV. It will be objected that *Constantius*, *Valens*, *Gensericus*, *Hunnericus*, &c were Arrians, and the later conquering Usurpers.

Answ. 1. Even *Heathen* Emperours and Kings are our Governours, though they want due *aptitude* to their duty (as also do many wicked Christian Princes:) And we owe them obedience when their Laws or Mandates are not against the Laws of God. We must not say as *Bellarmine*, that *Christians should not tolerate such Princes*, and that the *ancient Christians suffered for want of Power to resist*. 2. Let the Emperours called Arrians be made no worse than they were: Some were for Concord and Toleration of both Parties, and so are more suspected than proved to be Arrians: And Arrians themselves, (though unexcusably erroneous) were not like the Socinians, that utterly deny Christ's Deity: They *subscribed* to all the *Nicene* Creed save the the word [ὁμοούσιος] They would say that Christ was [*Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made*, &c.] They thought that as the *Sunbeams* or *Light* are its immediate emanation, but not its substance (as commonly Philosophers

say

ſay they are not, how true we ſay not) ſo Chriſt was an immediate emanation from the Father, before and above Angels, by whom all things elſe were made. And how dangerouſly *Juſtin*, and moſt of the ancienteſt Doctors before the *Nicene* Council ſpeak hereabout, and how certainly *Euſebius* and other great Biſhops were Arrians, and how lamentably the Council at *Ariminum* endeavoured an uniting Reconciliation, by laying by the word [ὁμοούσιος] And even old *Oſius* by their cruelty yielded to them; as *Liberius* ſubſcribed to them, we need not ſend any men to *Philoſtorgius* nor *Sondius* for proof, it being ſo largely proved by D. *Petavius de Trinitate*, who fully citeth their dangerous words.

And if the *heterodoxies* of the *Prince* ſhall be made the reaſon of the *Subjects diſobeying* him, in a matter lawful in it ſelf (as ſome that we ſpeak to now ſuppoſe) we ſhall hardly know where to ſtop, nor what bounds to ſet the Subjects when they are made Judges of the Princes Errours; and what examination or cogniſance of it, they muſt have.

3. *Conſtantine* that baniſhed *Athanaſius* (who kept in while he could againſt the Emperours will) is not proved an Arrian: Nor *Valentinian*, who commanded *Ambroſe*, (not to ceaſe Preaching himſelf, nor to forſake his Church, nor to ſubſcribe to Arrianiſm, but only) to tolerate the Arrians to meet in one ſpare Church, which was in *Millan*, as an act of moderation: But *Ambroſe* reſolutely diſobeyed the Emperour (we juſtifie not the manner) becauſe he thought that God's Law made it his office as Biſhop, ſo to do.

4. And

4. And as to *Genſericus* and *Hunnericus*'s Uſurpation, it was then ordinary with the Biſhops even of *Rome*, to ſubmit to men that had no better title; and alas, how few of many of the old *Roman* Emperours had any better (at leaſt, at firſt.)

XXV. We doubt not at all but that Kings are the Governours of Biſhops, and Churches, by coercive power, as truly as of Phyſicians, or other Profeſſions: And though they have no Authority to abrogate or ſuſpend the Laws of Chriſt, yet they have a Power of Legiſlation, under Chriſt, as Corporations for By-laws have under them: which power is only about thoſe things which God hath left to their determination; and not either *above Chriſt*, *againſt Chriſt*, or in *coordination with Chriſt*, but only in ſuch *ſubordination* to *him*, and to his *Laws*.

XXVI. How far Rulers have power (or not) to command things indifferent, and how far things ſcandalous and evil by accident, ſome of us have opened already diſtinctly, and need not here repeat.

XXVII. And we have there ſhewed, that as they may regulate Phyſicians by General and Cautionary Laws, but not overthrow their *Calling* on that pretence, by preſcribing to the Phyſician all the Medicines which he ſhall uſe, to this or that Patient, at this or that time, &c. ſo they may make ſuch General and Cautionary *Laws*, *circa ſacra*, 1. As ſhall drive Biſhops and Paſtors on to do their certain duties: 2. And as ſhall duely reſtrain them from ſin and doing hurt: 3. And they may puniſh them by the

ſword

sword or force, for such crimes as deserve that punishment. And a King of *England* may depose, or put to death a traiterous Bishop, Priest or Deacon, as lawfully as *Solomon* deposed *Abiathar*.

XXVIII. And as we have there said, we suppose that there are *some circumstances* of the Ministers work, which it belongeth to his *own office* to determine of, and are a true part of his *Ministerial* works: But there are *others*, which it is meet should be *universally* determined of, for the Concord of *all the Churches in a Kingdom*. These the Pastors and Churches by *consent* may agree in without a Law, if Kings leave it to them. And Kings (by the advise of such as best understand Church Cases) may well by their *own Laws* make such determinations. As for instance in what *Scripture Translations*, what *Versions and Metres* of Psalms, the Churches shall agree. Much more may they determine of the *Publick Maintenance* of Ministers, and the *Temples* and such other extrinsick accidents.

XXIX. Princes and Rulers may forbid Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks and Malignant opposers of necessary truth and godlyness, and all that preach rebellion and sedition, that propagate such wicked Doctrine, and may punish them if they do it. And may hinder the incorrigible, and all that provedly or notoriously are such whose Preaching will *do more hurt to men than good*, from exercising the Ministry or Preaching in their jurisdiction or Dominions: For such have not any power from Christ so to Preach, but serve the Enemy of Christ and man.

Sect.

XXX. Princes and Rulers may for order ſake diſtribute their Chriſtian Kingdoms into *Pariſhes*, which ſhall be the ordinary bounds of particular Churches: And ſuch diſtribution is very congruous to the Ends of the Miniſtry and Churches, aud conduceth to orderly ſettlement and peace: And experience hath ſhewed us that ſuch Pariſh Churches where the Paſtors are faithfull and fit, may live as Chriſtians ſhonld do to their mutuall comfort in Piety, Love and Peace: And ſuch *Pariſh-order* we deſire.

XXXI. But no Rulers may hence conclude, 1. that *Pariſhes* are diſtributed by *God immediately*, or that he hath commanded ſuch a diſtribution as a thing of *abſolute neceſſity* to a Church; But the Generall Rules of *order, and Edification* do ordinarily in Chriſtian Kingdomes require it. 2 Nor may any make a *Pariſh, as ſuch* to be a *Church*; and all to be Church members that are in the Pariſh, as ſuch: for Atheiſts, Infidels, Hereticks, & Impenitent Rebels may live in the Pariſh; and many that *conſent* nor to be members of that or any Church: And not only in worſe lands but in *Ireland* and in *England*, (as part of *Lancaſhire*,) the far greateſt part of the Pariſhioners are Papiſts, (who renounce the Proteſtant Churches) in ſome places.

XXXII. Neither dwelling in the Pariſh, nor the Law of the Land, makes any Chriſtian a member of that Pariſh Church, without or before his own conſent: But proximity is part of his extrinſick aptitude and the law of man or command of his Prince may make it his *duty* to *conſent*, and thereby to become a member when greater

greater Reasons mollify not that obligation.

XXXIII. *Parish Bounds* and such other humane distributions for conveniency, may be *altered by men*; and they bind not against any of Christs own Laws and predeterminations; nor when any changes turn them *against the good ends* for which they are made; of which more afterward, when we speak of separation.

XXXIIII. And about these humane Church-Laws the general Case must be well considered, how far they are obligatory to conscience, and in what cases they cease to bind. *Sayrus, Fragoso* and other the most Learned and Moderate Casuists of the Papists, ordinarily conclude, that Humane Laws bind not, when they are not for the Common good. We had rather say, that *when they are notoriously against the Laws of Christ*, or *against* the *Common good, or are made by usurpation without authority thereto, they bind not to formal obedience in that particular*; (*though sometime other reasons, especially* the honour *of our Rulers, may bind* us to *material obedience, when the* matter is indifferent; and though still our subjection and loyalty must be maintained. But of this before, and more largely by one of us, *Christian directory, Part.4. Chap.3. Tit.* 3. &c. The Council of *Toletum.* 1355 decreed that their decrees shall bind none *ad culpam* but only *ad pœnam* see *Bin. Inoc.* 6th.

Sect. XXXV. Kings and Magistrates should see that their Kingdoms be well provided of publick Preachers and *Catechists*, to convert Infidels and Impious men where there are such, and to prepare such for Baptisme, and Church priviledges

viledges and Communion, as are not yet Baptized, but are Catechumens: And they may by due means compel the ignorant to hear and learn what Christianity is, though not to *become Christians* (for that is impossible) nor to *profess* that which *is not true*, nor to *take Church-Priviledges*, to which they *have no right*, and of which at present they are *uncapable*. But they may grant those rewards and civil Priviledges to Christians and Churches for their encouragement, which they are not bound to give to others, and which may make a moving difference, without unrighteous constraint.

XXXVI. Christ and his Apostles having (as is aforesaid) settled the Right of *Ordination* on the *Senior Pastors* or Bishops, and the Right of *Consenting* in the People, (and this continued long even under Christian Emperours) Princes or Patrons may not deprive either party of their Right, but preserving such Rights, they may 1. *Offer* meet Pastors to the *Ordainers* and *Consenters* to be accepted, when there is just cause for their interposition: 2. They may hinder both Ordainers and People from introducing intollerable men: 3. They may, when a Peoples *Ignorance*, *Faction* or *Wilfulness* maketh them refuse all that are truly fit for them, urge them to accept the best; and may possess such of the Temples, and Publick Maintenance, and make it consequently to become the Peoples duty to *consent*, as is aforesaid; so also when they are divided.

XXXVII. Princes ought to be Preservers of Peace and Charity among the Churches, and to hinder Preachers from unrighteous and uncha-

ritable reviling each other, and their unpeaceable controverſies and contentions.

XXXVIII. Chriſt himſelf hath inſtituted the *Baptiſmal Covenant* to be the *Title* of Viſible Members of his Church, and the *Symbol* by which they ſhall be notified: And he hath commanded all the baptized as Chriſtians, to *Love each other as themſelves*; and though *weak in the faith, to receive one another, as Chriſt receiveth us, but not to doubtful diſputations*; and ſo far *as they have obtained to walk by the ſame rule*, of Love, and Peace, and not to *deſpiſe* or *judge* each other for tolerable differences (much leſs to hate, revile, or deſtroy each other;) and it *ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtles, to lay no greater burden on the Churches*, even of the Ceremonies which God had once commanded, but *Neceſſary things*, *Act.* 15. 28. And theſe terms of Church-Union and Concord which Chriſt hath made, no mortal man hath power to abrogate. All things therefore of inferiour nature, though *Verities* and *Good*, muſt be no otherwiſe impoſed by Rulers, than as may ſtand with theſe univerſal Laws of Chriſt, which are the true way to prevent Church-Schiſms.

XXXIX. Princes by their Laws, or Paſtors by conſent where Princes leave it to them, may ſo aſſociate many particular Churches for orderly correſpondencie and concord, and appoint ſuch times and places for Synods, and ſuch orders in them, as are agreable to Gods aforeſaid generall Laws, of doing all in Love, to Edification and in order; And how far, if Rulers ſhould miſs this generall Rule, they are yet to be obeyed, we have opened elſewhere.

XL. As

XL. As we have there also said that Princes may make their own Officers to execute their Magistratical Power *circa sacra* (which we acknowledge in our King in our Oath of Supremacy;) and if such be called, *Ecclesiastical*, and their Courts and Laws so called also, that ambiguous name doth not intimate them to be of the same *species* as Christs ordained Ecclesiastical Ministers, or as his Churches and Laws are; so now we add that if Princes shall authorize any particular Bishops or Pastors to excercise any such visiting, conventing, ordering, moderating, admonishing, or governing power as it belongeth to the Prince to give, not contrary to Christs Laws, or the duties by him commanded, and priviledges by him granted to particular Churches, we judge that Subjects should obey all such, even for conscience sake: However, our consideration of Christs decision of his disciples controversie, *who should be the greatest* and our certain knowledge how necessary, *Love*, and *Lowliness*, and how pernicious, *wrath* and *Lordly-Pride* are in those that must win souls to Christ, and imitate him in bearing (not making) the cross, together with the sad history of the Churches distractions and corruption by *Clergy-Pride* and *Worldliness* (lamented by *Nazianzene*, *Basil*, *Hilary Pictavus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Isidore Peluſiot*, *Bernard*, and multitudes more, yea by some Popes themselves) these and other reasons we say doe make us wish, that the Clergy had never been trusted with the sword, or any degree of forcing power, or secular pomp; yet if Princes judge otherwise, we must obediently submit to all their Officers.

XLI. It seemeth by the phrase of His Majesties Declaration about Ecclesiastical affairs 1660, in which (after consultation with his Reverend Bishops) *the Pastoral way of Persuasion, reproofs* and *admonitions* are granted to the Presbyters that a distinction is intended between *this Pastoral* and the *Prelatical* Government, And we must, with very great concern, profess that if the *Churches of the lowest sort* (*Parochial*) *be but indeed made true Churches*, such *as Christ by his Apostles instituted, and not only Parts* of a *Diocesan Church as if that were* the lowest *rank*; *And if these particular Churches have but Pastors that have the power of the Keys in those Churches, and all that the scripture maketh essential to the Officer which was then set over every such particular Church*; *And if the Discipline instituted by Christ himself, be but made possible* and *feasible* in *such Parochiall Churches, yea if we that were trusted by our calling with the mysteries of God, may not be forced our selves, to, administer the Sacraments against our own knowledge & consciences, and against our consciences and knowledge of mens cases to pronounce men absolved,* or *excommunicate upon other mens decrees,* or *to pronounce the notoriously wicked to be saved, and to deny worthy Christians the seal of Christs Covenant, nor their infants their visible Christianity by baptism*; we say, *might we but have this much, we should be so far from using* the *Controversie about the Divine Right of Episcopacy as a distinct Order from Presbyters, to any schism, or injury to the Church, that we should thankfully contribute our best endeavours* to *the concord, safety, peace and prosperity thereof. And might we but also be freed from*

from Swearing, *Subſcribing, Declaring, and Covenanting unneceſſary things (which we take not to be true) againſt our conſciences, and from ſome few unneceſſary Practices which we cannot juſtifie, we ſhould joyfully ſerve the Church in our publick Miniſtry, though it were in poverty and rags.* But of ſo great a mercy *experience* hath made our hopes from men to be very ſmall: And the reaſon of the thing maketh our hopes as ſmall of the happineſs of the Church of *England,* till God ſhall unite us on theſe neceſſary terms.

SECT. VI.

3. *What Separation, and what Gathering of Aſſemblies or Churches is unlawful, and what lawful.*

I. THough ſome mens abuſe of the word [Schiſm] and calling mens duty to God by that name, hath proved a great temptation to many, to take it but for a word of Paſſion, or of no certain or odious ſignification (even as the Papiſts abuſe of the word [*Hereſie*] and [*Heretick*] hath been to others) yet the evill of true *Shiſm* and the odium that God layeth on it in the Scripture, ſhould move all Chriſtians, to fear the thing and uſe the name with the diſgrace that it truely importeth (without miſapplication,) and to avoid all guilt of ſo great a ſin.

II. There are ſeveral ſorts and degrees of Schiſm, which greatly differ from each other

Its

Its one thing to *divide from a Church*, and another to *cause divisions or factions in it*. Its one thing to divide *our selves* from it, and another to *cause others* to divide. Its one thing to draw men away *by words*, and another to *drive* them away by *laws* or *execution*, by unjust *excommunication* or by violent *persecution*. Its one thing to temptaway or drive away a *single person*, or a few; and another thing to draw or drive away *multitudes*. Its one thing to separate from the *Universal-Church*, and another from a *particular Church*, or a few only. Its one thing to separate from the *species* of particular Churches, and another from some *individuals* only. Its one thing to separate from the Churches of *Christs institution*, and another to separate only from those of *mens institution*. Its one thing to separate from such *as men make lawfully*, and another from such only as they make *without authority*, and *sinfully*. And here separating from one whose sinful constitution is *traiterous* against Christs prerogative (as the Papal Universal Usurpation) much differeth from separating from one whose constitution though sinful, is of no such perniciousnes.

It is one thing to deny *total Communion*, and another to separate but *secundum quid* for some *act* or *part*; And that is either a *great and necessary* part or some *small* or *indifferent* thing or *ceremony*. It is one thing to separate *Locally* by *bodily absence*, and another *mentally* by Schismaticall principles. It is one thing to separate from a Church as accusing it to be *no Church of Christ*, and another to separate from it only as a true Church but so *Corrupted* as not to be *Communicated with*. Its one thing to judge its

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Communion *absolutely unlawful*, and another only to forsake it *for a better* which is preferred: Its one thing to *depart willfully*, and another to be *unwillingly cast out*. Its one thing to depart *rashly* and in *hast*, and another to depart after *due patience*, when reformation appeareth *hopeless*. It is one thing to remove upon *religious reasons*, and another upon *Civil* or *Domestical*, or *Corporal*.

It is easy for a confounded head to pass over all such distinctions, and with unjust and confounding censures to reproach others as Schismaticks in the dark, before he knoweth what schism is, being guilty of Schism in his very accusations. But sober Christians must be *discerners*, and know that confusion is an Enemy to *truth* and *love* and *justice*.

III. The Union of the *Church Universal* is in the seven things mentioned by Paul *Eph.* 4. 3.4,5.6. *viz.* One Body, One Spirit (of faith and Love) *One Hope* (of Glory) One *Lord*, *One faith* (or Creed,) One *Baptismal* Covenant, *One God* and *Father of all*. He that separateth from this Church directly, is *an Apostate*; *Visibly*, if from its *Essential profession*, and *invisibly* if only from the *inward sincerity* of *faith*, *consent* and *Love*. This is damning separation. And if he separate but from some one Essentiall article of faith or duty, it is that which is most usually and strictly called *Heresie*; of which we are now to speak no further.

IV. 2. To make Factions, Parties, Contentions, and Mutinies in a true *Church* of Christ, or in any *Community* of Christians, yea or but in *fami-*

lies, in the Universal Church is a great sin, in all that are the true culpable Causes of it, and are not only the involuntary occasions by unavoidable accidents.

V. 3. To separate from *all the particular Churches* in the world, as if they were *no true Political Churches* of Christ (as those called *Seekers* do, who say that the *Ministry*, *Scripture* and *Churches*, are lost in the wilderness,) is a very heinous sin, though such as do so, renounce not their *Baptism*, or the *Church Universal*.

VI. 4. To separate from *most*, or *many* Churches by so *unchurching them*, is far worse than to separate from *few* or *one*; it being a greater wrong to Christ and men.

VII. 5. To separate from *one* upon a *reason* that is known to be *common to all*, or *most*, or *many*, is virtually to separate from *all*, or *most*, or *many*.

VIII. 6. To separate from a *true Church*, accusing it to be *no true Church*, is a greater injury and sin (*ceteris paribus*) than to separate from it only on an unjust accusation or *culpability* consistent with a true Church: Because the charge is more odious and injurious, and tendeth more to destroy Love.

IX. 7. To accuse a Church (its *Doctrine*, *Ministry*, *Worship* or *Discipline*) *falsly*, as guilty of such corruption which maketh it unlawful for any *Christians to have communion* with it, or falsly to pretend such *faults* for his own and others separation from it, is a great sin, though not so great as to *unchurch it*.

X. 8. To hold that *every Error* in the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, Pastors or People of that Church, yea though settled and continued,

and

and foreknown, not forced on us to consent to or practice, is sufficient cause to make Communion with the Church unlawful, is to hold a principle which would infer separation from all the known Churches in this world.

XI. 9. To *draw others* to such separation by such false accusations or opinions, is worse than to do it silently ones self; and the *more* the *worse*.

XII. 10. The more such accusations strike at the heart of *Christian Love*, which is the life of holy Societies, and of *Holiness* it self; and the more they draw men from *Piety*, and to *hate*, and *abuse*, and *wrong* each other, the greater is the sin.

XIII. 11. When men erroneously and causlesly gather *separated Members* from *true Churches where they should continue*, into *Antichurches*, or Societies, where their *business is to make others unjustly odious that differ from them*; this is to gather Schismatical Societies: And if they pretend themselves wiser than the *Generality of the true Orthodox Churches* in the world, and so separate from them, they were for this called Hereticks at first: But if it be but upon a quarrel with *some particular neighbour Church* or Pastor it was called a *Schism*.

XIV. 12. If any *proud*, or *passionate*, or *erroneous* person do, as *Dictrephes*, cast out the brethren undeservedly, by *unjust suspensions, silencings*, or *excommunications*, it is tyrannical Schism, what better name soever cloak it.

XV. 13. If any should make *sinful terms of Communion*, by *Laws*, or *Mandates*, imposing *things forbidden by God*, on those that will have

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Communion with them, and expelling those that will not so sin, this were heinous Schism: And the further those Laws extend, and the more Ministers or People are cast out by them, the greater is the Schism.

XVI. 14. If any should not only excommunicate such persons for not complying with them in sin, but also *prosecute* them with *mulcts, imprisonments, banishments,* or other *prosecution,* to force them to transgress, this were yet more heinously aggravated Schism.

XVII. 15. All those would be deeply guilty of such Schism who by *talk, writing,* or *preaching, justifie* it, and cry it up, and draw others into the guilt, and reproach the Innocent as Schismaticks, for not offending God.

XVIII. 16. If any should corrupt such a Church, or its *Doctrine, Worship,* or *Discipline* in the very *Essentials* by setting up *forbidden Officers,* and *Worship,* or casting out the *Officers, Worship* or *Discipline* instituted by Christ, and then prosecute others for not communicating with them; this would be yet the more heinous Schism.

XIX. 17. If either of the last named sorts, would not be content with mens *Communion* with them, but would also *silence* and *prosecute* such as will not *own, justifie,* and *consent* to all that they do, by *subscriptions, declarations, covenants, promises,* or *oaths*; this would yet be a more aggravated Schism.

XX. 18. If the men that do this should be mere *obtruders and usurpers,* that have no true Pastoral power over those whom they persecute (as the Pope over other Kingdoms and Churches)

ches) this were yet more aggravated schisme.

XXI. 19. If such Usurpers will claim a dominion or Monarchy over all the world, and unchurch, degrade and unchristen all that will not be their Subjects, or will impose sinful termes of Vnion upon all the Christian World, and declare all Hereticks or Schismaticks, that receive them not, and so cast out most of the Christians on Earth, and all the sounder Churches, this is one of the most heynous sorts of Schism, that the mind of man can think of. Which is the grand Schism of the *Roman* Papacy, worse than all their interior Schisms when they had many Popes at once.

XXII. 20. If such shall send agents and emissaries into the Dominions of Christians Princes or States, to draw the Subjects to that Schisme, and make them believe that Princes are by right the Subjects of the Pope, and that men shall be damned if they will not take him for the Bishop or Vice-christ of all the World and keep up a rich and numerous Clergie in Christian Kingdomes for this use, and make Decrees to exterminate or burn Christians, and to depose temporal Lords that will not obey them and execute their lawes, This is to maintain and prosecute a Schisme against Religious and Civill peace, by open hostility to Princes and People, and to mankind.

XXIII. 21. If, because the *Roman* Emperours and Clergie setled five Patriarchs in the Roman Empire, of which the Roman Bishop was the first, and by Councils called *General* of that Empire, did make Church Laws to bind the Subjects

Subjects, any therefore will teach that these Patriarchs, (and the Pope as *Principium unitatis*) must be Rulers in the dominions of other Princes, and that such Councils must govern them by their Decrees and that the Universal Church must be united in any one mortal head, whether *Personal* or Collective (such as General Councils,) and so would bring Christian Princes and people under the Laws and Government of forreigners, and brand those as Schismaticks that will not fall in with such an Universal Church Policie, This were also a very heinous sort of Schism. For the Universal Church never did, nor will be united on such termes ; And therefore to make such terms of its unity, is to make an Engine to divide it, and tear it all into pieces.

XXIV. 22. If any will confine the *Power* or *Exercise* of the *Church Keyes* into so *few hands* as shall make the Exercise of *Christs Discipline impossible* (as by laying that work on *one*, which *multitudes* are too few to do ;) or shall make *Churches* so *great*, and *Pastors* so *few*, as that the *most of the people* must needs be *without true Pastoral oversight*, *teaching and publick worship*, and then will forbid those people to Commit the Care of their souls to *any others* that will be *Pastors indeed*, and so would compel them to be *without Christs ordinances*, true *Church Communion* and *Pastoral help*, This would be Schismatical, and much worse.

XXV. 23. If any Pastors will *deny Baptism*, which is their investiture in the *Christian Church*, to the *Adult* that refuse to receive the tran-

transient Image of the Crucifix (or any thing equal to it) as a Dedicating means to consecrate them to God, and to signifie their Covenant Engagement to Christ, and as a badge and symbol of the Christian Religion, it seemeth to us to be Schismaticall, when Christ himself instituted Baptism without such a Covenanting Image, to be the test and bond of his Churches unity: But if those Pastors hold Baptism *necessary* also to *salvation*, and *yet* will so deny it to such, this seemeth a great aggravation. The same we say of such Pastors as reject from Baptism and the Church, the Infants of true Christians on the aforesaid account: As also of those that reject them from Baptism, because the Parents will not offer them to it, unless they *may themselves be the Covenanters in their own Childrens names*, and the *Express dedicaters* of *them to God*, and because they either *cannot get credible Godfathers*, or *will not* put others to *promise* the *Christian Education* of *their children*, who they have no reason to believe do at all intend it, or will ever do it, we can excuse no such rejection of Christian Infants from Christs Church, from Schism.

XXVI. 24. If some Christians be of opinion that Christs example bindeth them to receive the Lords Supper in a Table-gesture, or that the tradition of the Universal Church and the Canon 20th of the Nicene Councill is obligatory to them, which forbad men to *adore Kneeling* on any Lords day in the year, or on any week day between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* (which no other General Council revoked, but continued till meer usage by degrees wore it out, saith Dr.

Heylin

Heylin of the Sabbath, above 1000 years after Christ.) Or if the said persons should think that to receive Kneeling were such a scandalous appearance of the Papists Bread-worship, as the bowing before an Image forbidden by the 2d. Commandement was a scandalous appearance of Idol-worship, though these persons did in this mistake, we could not excuse our selves from Schism, if we should therefore refuse them Sacramental-Communion: Nor if we should *Assent* and *Consent* to the rejection of men for so small an errour, seeing Christs Spirit, *Rom.* 14. 1, &c. commanded both Pastors and People to *receive him that is weak in the faith, but not to doubtful disputations*; and to live in Love and Union with those that have greater weaknesses than this.

XXVII. 25. It may be Schismatical to cast men out of the Church for that which yet may be Schismatical in the person so ejected: If he depart from the Church though Schismatically only in some accident, circumstance, or some one act or thing of no necessity to communion or salvation; we think he may not be excommunicated, *e.g.* for not paying Fees at the Chancellours Court, or such like. For as God departeth not from sinners first, or further than they depart from him; so we humbly conceive the Church should imitate him; remembring how Christ that came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them, rebuked the Sons of Thunder that would have had him destroy those that refused to receive him, telling them, *That they knew not what manner of spirit they were of.*

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On the other side, it may be Schism to separate from a Church that hath some Schismatical Principles, Practices, and Persons, if those be not such or so great as to necessitate our departure from them: For alas, it is too few Churches that are so happy as to have nothing, and do nothing which is Schismatical.

XXVIII. 26. Gathering *New Churches* by way of *Separation* from *others*, or gathering *Assemblies* without the consent of the *lawful Pastors*, who had the charge of the People of those Assemblies, is a sin and Schism in all these Cases following.

1. In general, when the Laws, Practices, or Persons of the Church which they separate from, give them *no sufficient cause* of a departure.

2. In general, when in the judgment of true reason, according to the notable evidence of the case, the said Assemblies are like *to do more hurt than good.*

3. When such Assemblies are gathered in *opposition* to *some Truth* which the Separaters would thereby disown (*e. g.* Infant-Baptism, the lawfulness of Set-forms of Praise or Prayer, or any sound Doctrine;) or for the profession and propagation of some *Heresie* or *Error* (as Antinomianism, Popery, &c.)

4. When such Churches are gathered by men that have no true *Fitness* and *Calling* for the Sacred Ministry, or the work which they undertake.

5. When they are gathered by the pride of the Ministers, that would thereby unduly set up themselves, and draw away Disciples after them; or by their covetousness, seeking not the good of the

the Flock, but the Fleece; not *them*, but *theirs*; not serving the Lord Jesus, but their own Bellies: Or when gathered, by the *Pride* of the *People*, that unjustly think those that they separate from, men unworthy of their Communion, and say to them, *Come not near to us, we are holier than you, Isa.* 65. 5.

6. When they are gathered by a quarrelsom Passion, falling out with the Pastors and People whom they separate from. The parting of *Paul* and *Barnabas* had some evil in it.

7. When they are gathered to encourage and strengthen a sinful Faction or Party, or when men separate from others for fear of being censured by such a party, as *Peter* did withdraw from the Gentile Christians, lest he should displease the erroneous Iewes Gal. 2.

8. When it is done out of a proud overvaluing of mens own opinions, or some odd singularity, whereby men cannot bear those that are not of their mind, or whereby they would fain be. be more conspicuous as more Orthodox and wise than others.

9. When it is done mistakingly to set up some wrong course of Church Government or worship (As that the *People* may have *the Power of the Keyes*, or of *examining and judging* all *admitted members*, or that *Papal Government* or the *mass* may be introduced *enthusiastical* disorderly *talking* by pretended inspiration, by ignorant uncalled men, or to introduce such *traditions* and *superstitions*, as the Papists use, &c.)

10. When it is done upon a false conceit that a mans presence with any Church that hath known errour or faults in doctrines or worship,

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is a guilty approving of them, and therefore that they must separate from all such.

11. When they separate out of an *unruliness* of spirit, because they will not be governed by their lawful Pastors in lawful things, as time, place, order, &c. or because a *Minor* part in elections is overvoted by the major part, and cannot have their wills.

12. When they separate out of a prophaneness of mind, not enduring the power of the Preachers doctrine, or the holiness and discipline of the Church, but would be licentious, while they would be called Religious. All these are unlawful separations, and assemblings.

Yet that which is unlawful as to the *Principle, End* and *Manner, secundum quid*, is not always unlawful *simply*, and in the *thing it self*, for a proud, covetous turbulent person may sinfully do a Lawful thing.

XXIX. 27. When Pastors by concord, or Magistrates by Laws have setled Lawful *Circumstances* or *Accidents* of Church *Order* or *Worship*, or *Discipline*, though they be in *particular* but humane Institutions, it is Sinful disobedience to violate them without necessary reason; *e. g.* Parochial Order, Associations, Times, Places, Ministers, Maintenance, Scripture-Translations, &c.

XXX. 28. When able faithful Pastors are lawfully set over the Assemblies, by *just Election* and *Ordination*, if any will causelesly, and without right silence them, and command the people to desert them, and to take others for their Pastors in their stead, of whom they have no such knowledge as may encourage them to such a

change, we cannot defend this from the charge of Schism, which puts a Congregation on so hard a means of Concord, as to judge whether they are bound to that Pastor that was set over them as Christ appointed, or must renounce him and take the other when they are Commanded. So *Cyprian* in the case of *Novatian* sayes that he could be no Bishop because another was rightfull Bishop before.

XXXI. 29. In *England* it belongeth 1. to the *Patron* to *present*, 2. to the Bishop to *ordain* and *institute* and therefore to *approve and invest* 3. to the *people jure divino* to be *free Consenters*, 4. and to the *Magistrate* to *protect* and to *judge* who shall be *protected* or *tolerated* under him: If now these four parties be for four Ministers or for three, or two several men, and cannot agree in one, the culpable dissenters will be the causes of the Schism.

XXXII. 30. If a Church have more Presbyters than one, and will be for one way of worship, discipline or doctrine and another for another, (as at *Frankford*, Dr. Cox. Mr. *Horn* and others were for the Liturgie, and others against it) so that the people cannot possibly accord, it is the culpable party, which ever it be, that must answer for the Schism. So much of enumerated Schisms.

XXXIII. On the Negative, we suppose that none of these following are Schisms in a culpable sense.

1. All are agreed that it is no Schism for the Christian Church to separate from the ancient Jewish

Jewish, or from the Infidel Heathen World.

XXXIV. 2. All Protestants are agreed that it is no Schism to deny obedience to the *Roman* Pope; nor to deny that communion with them, which they will not have *without obedience*: To separate from *other Churches*, is to deny them *meer Communion*; But to separate from the *Roman* as *Papal*, is but to deny them *subjection*. To deny any other Christian Church to be a *true Church* is Schismatical, if they have the Essentials of a Church: But to deny the *Papal Church* or *Monarchy* to be a *true Church* of Christ's institution, is true, just and necessary, though they be *Christians*; because we mean only the *Papal Church form*, as it is an *Universal Ecclesiastical Monarchy* of the whole Christian world, which no other Church but that doth claim.

XXXV. 3. It is no Schism to deny *Subjection* to Pope, Councils or Patriarchs, of other Kingdoms, or to any forein Power by what names or titles soever called.

XXXVI. 4. It is no Schism to deny that Christ hath any such Visible Church on Earth as is one by Union with any Universal Head, Personal or Collective, besides himself.

XXXVII. 5. It is no Schism to Preach, and gather Churches, and elect and ordain Pastors and Assemble for God's Worship, against the Laws and will of Heathen, *Mahometan*, or Infidel Princes that forbid it. For thus did the Christians for 300 years. And if there be the *same cause and need*, it is no more Schism to do it against the Laws and will of a *Christian* Prince. Because, 1. Christ's Laws are equally obligatory;

2. Souls equally precious. 3. The Gospel and Gods worship equally necessary, 4. And *his Christianity* enableth him not to do *more hurt* than a Pagan may do, but *more good*. If therefore either out of Ungodly enmity to his own profession, or for fear of displeasing his wicked or Infidel Subjects, he should forbid Christian Churches, he is not to be therein obeyed.

XXXVIII. 6. If a Prince, Heathen, Infidel or Christian, forbid Gods Commanded worship, and any Commanded part of the Pastors office, (as in Papists Kingdoms Prayer in a known tongue, and the Cup in the Lords Supper is forbidden, and as they say, all preaching save the reading of Liturgies and Homilies is forbidden in *Moscovie*, and as the use of the Keyes is elsewhere forbidden;) It is no *Schism* to disobey such Laws, (what Prudence may *pro hic & nunc* require of any single person we now determine not.)

XXXIX. 7. If any Prince would turn his *Kingdom*, or a whole *Province*, *Dioceſs* or *County* into *One only Church* and thereby overthrow all the *first order of Churches of Christs institution*, which are *associated for Personal present Communion*, allowing them no Pastors that have the power of the Keyes, and all essential to their office; though he should allow Parochial *Oratories* or *Chappels*, which should be no true Churches, but *Parts* of a Church, It were no Schism to gather Churches within such a Church against the Laws of such a Prince. Many write that there is but One Bishop in *Abassia* (though some say that others have Episcopal power under

under him:) some that read the old Canons, which confine Bishops to Cities, and take not the word as then it was taken, for any great Town or Corporation, but for such priviledged Towns only as are called Cities in *England*, hence gather that as the King may disfranchise Cities and reduce them to ten, two or one in a Kingdom, he may by consequence do so by Churches that have Bishops; which if it be spoken but of *Episcopi Episcoporum* we resist not; But if of *Episcopi Gregis* of the first Order of Churches called [Particular] we suppose that out of such a Kingdom-Church *Provincial* or *Diocesan-Church*, it is no *Schism* to gather particular *Parochial* Churches though forbidden. And the same reason will prove that if in a lesser circuit, the same things be done though in a lower degree, *viz*, were it but three, four or ten particular Churches of the largest size capable of *Personal Communions* turned into one which is capable only of distant Communion *per alios* it is lawful to gather particular Churches out of that larger sort of Church. If the Bishop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Cesarea*, *Heraclea*, *Carthage*, *&c.* should have put down the Bishops of ten, twenty, an hundred or many hundred Churches about them, and set up only Oratories and Catechists in their stead making them all but part of their own Churches, it would have been lawful to have gathered Churches in their Churches: For God never made them proper *Judges* whether Christ should have Churches according to his laws, nor whether God should be worshipped, and souls be saved, or his own institutions of Churches be observed.

XL. 8. If Bishops would ordain Presbyters by *limiting words*, restraining them from any *Essential* or *Integral Part* of the Office or Power as instituted by Christ, and yet profess that they ordain them to the Office which Christ hath instituted, it is no Schism for those Presbyters afterward to *claim* (and execute in season) all the power which by Christ's institution belongeth to their Office, though against the Bishops Wills. Because the Bishops are not the *Authors* or *Donors* of the *Office Power*, but only the Ministerial Deliverers and Investers; And therefore it is Christ and not they, that must describe it.

XLI. 9. No Prince or Prelate hath power from Christ to set over, or impose upon any Church or Christian people, any person as a Pastor who through Ignorance, Heresie, Malignant opposition to piety, or utter defect of Ministerial ability, is uncapable of the Office or unfit to be trusted by the people with the Pastoral care and conduct of their soules. Nor is it Schism in them to refuse to commit their soules to such, nor to chuse and use better; when they may do it, without greater hurt to others than their gain will compensate.

XLII. 10. Princes or other Magistrates are not appointed by God to be the *ordinary Electters* and *Imposers* of Pastors on *all the Churches*; and the people bound to consent to whomsoever they elect. But Christ hath given the *Bishops* the power of free *ordaining*, and the people the power of *free consenting*, and made Magistrates the *Governours of them* that have this power. Even as he hath not given power to Princes

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to chuſe Wives or Husbands, Servants or Maſters, Tutors or Pupils, Phyſicians or Patients, for all their Subjects, but hath antecedently given ſuch Subjects power to chuſe for themſelves, and to Princes to be civil Rulers of ſuch as have this Choice, by which Governing Power they may regulate their Choice in ſubordination to Chriſts Univerſal Laws, and may puniſh them for groſs miſdoing: Therefore it is no Schiſm for Paſtors to ordain, or People to chuſe the Overſeers of their ſouls, without or againſt a Magiſtrates will or command as ſuch (ſubmitting to his Government.)

XLIII. 11. When faithful Paſtors truly ordained and elected, or conſented to, are in poſſeſſion, if a lawful Magiſtrate caſt them out (not only of the Temples and Tithes, but alſo of their *Paſtoral Relation* and *Overſight*, and put others in their places of untried and ſuſpected parts and fidelity; 1. The Princes impoſition maketh not ſuch the *true Paſtors* of that *Church before and without* the *Peoples conſent*: 2. Nor will it alwaies bind the People to conſent, and to forſake their former Paſtors, nor prove them Schiſmaticks becauſe they do it not.

For 1. God in Nature and Scripture hath given them that conſenting power antecedent to the Princes determination, which none can take from them. As he hath in nature given men the Choice (or Conſent at leaſt) with what Phyſician they will truſt their lives: God hath not put all ſick mens lives ſo far in the Princes power as to bind them to truſt and uſe whomſoever he ſhall chuſe: For men are neareſt to themſelves, and their lives are at their own wills in the firſt in-

ſtance, before they are at anothers: And mens ſouls and everlaſting happineſs are precioufer to them than their lives, and it is firſt under God their own wills by which they ſhall live or die; though all their friends ſhould do their beſt to make them willing of what is beſt.

2. They are ſuppoſed related duely to their tryed Paſtors, in the bond of fidelity, which they may not unneceſſarily violate.

3. Otherwiſe one *Roman* Emperor might have undone all the Churches and Souls in the Empire in a great degree; by impoſing on them inſufficient, heretical, or malignant Paſtors: Where it muſt be noted, 1. That God doth ordinarily work on ſouls according to the quality of the means: To ſay that *He can do otherwiſe*, is impertinent, while we ſee that he *doth not*, nor hath *promiſed it*. We ſee that Heathens and Infidels are not converted without Preachers: We ſee that Heretical Preachers make Hereticks, and Schiſmatical ones make Schiſmaticks, and ignorant ones leave the people ignorant: In ſeveral Countries the people are Greeks, Papiſts, Lutherans, &c. as they are taught. We ſee that one clear, convincing, experienced, ſerious Preacher, turneth more ſouls among us from ignorance, errour, fleſhly luſt, and worldly wicked hearts and lives, than abundance of raw young Readers or Preachers, that ignorantly ſay over a dry prepared ſpeech in a School-boys mode and tone. It is not every Preacher of whom it can be ſaid as Dr. *Ames* doth of old Mr. *Midſley*, a Nonconformiſt of *Lancaſhire*, *That he was the means of converting many thouſand ſouls*, (from *Popery*, *Ignorance*, and a *wicked life*: Nor whoſe labours

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are bleſt, as Mr. *Dods*, Mr. *John Rogers*, Mr. *Thomas Hookers* (Nonconformiſts) or Mr. *William Fenners* (a Conformiſt) and ſuch others were. Even as we ſee by experience that a few skilful, prudent, experienced Phyſicians cure more than abundance of young beginners, who too oft kill more than they cure. We ſee that the *Abaſſian*, *Armenian*, *Greek*, and moſt Popiſh Countries, are lamentably ignorant (and uſually proportionably vicious) for want of a learned, pious, skilful, and laborious Miniſtery: Hiſtory tells us, that the Kingdom of *Nubia* forſook Chriſtianity for want of competent Teachers: The induſtry of the Jeſuits and Friars in *China*, *Japan*, *Congo*, and other Countries, telleth us how much they laid on the diligent uſe of means. *Joſ. Acoſta* tells us how much the *Weſt-Indies* ſuffer in Religion by the ignorance and wickedneſs of the Prieſts. How barbarous and ſad a ſtate the Empire of *Moſcovy* is in, for want of able, faithful Paſtors, while the Emperours put down Preaching, and confine them to Liturgies and Homilies, as is affirmed commonly without contradiction. How miſerable a ſtate the *Roman* Church; yea, the Papacy was in, in the ninth and tenth Ages, even *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, and the greateſt flatterers of the Pope lament; and this for want of able, faithful Paſtors and Teachers among them.

2. No man hath his power to deſtruction, but to edification. The *bonum Publicum* is the end of Government: Therefore it is not Schiſm in Subjects, not to caſt their ſouls on notorious peril of damnation, in obedience to any mortal man.

3. Every man, (eſpecially experienced Chriſtians)

ſtians) have more ſenſe and knowledge of what is profitable and congruous to them, than ſtanders by have, how learned ſoever: As ignorance maketh a *few, ſhort, plain, oft repeated words*, in a *familiar* ſtyle, more profitable to low-bred perſons, than an accurate learned Diſcourſe would be; ſo mens ſeveral tempers and vices maketh that matter and manner of Preaching profitable to them, which to others ſeemeth otherwiſe: And as a nice Lady muſt not tie her family of labouring perſons, to the matter and meaſure of her diet, nor revile them as gluttons or fools if they like it not; no more muſt learned men confine plain people to wordy Orations, (whether Learned or Pedantick) and ſay, This is beſt for them: Much leſs muſt they ſilence cauſleſly ſuch Teachers as truly profit them, or tie them to Homilies or Liturgies only, and ſay, *Here is as much as is neceſſary to ſalvation*: Nor is it any Schiſm in the people, if they refuſe to be ſo confined by them, and denied ſuch helps to their ſalvation as God hath ſent them, and made their due.

4. *Order* is an excellent means of edification, and of preſerving *Truth, Charity* and *Peace*: But it is but a *Means* to the *Ends* of the things *Ordered*, and the publick good: Therefore if *Order* ſhould be made the advantage of *Hereſie, Church-Tyranny or Iniquity*, and be turned againſt the good of Church and Souls, (as it is in the Policy of the *Roman* Church, and in well ordered Armies of Rebels, or ſuch as have unlawful wars) this would make it no Schiſm or ſin to break ſuch order. Theſe notices interpoſed, we add, 4. That it hath been the Judgement of the moſt

most honoured Ages of the Church, that it is no Schism in the forementioned Cases, to cleave to the faithful Pastors that were duly ordained and consented to, and to refuse subjection to such as lawful Princes have imposed in their steads.

1. That even in the Jewish State the Kings had not the Election of all the Priests and Levites (much less the Prophets)is before proved; though they had the Government of them according to God's Laws.

2. That the Apostles sent by Christ performed their Office against the will of the *Roman* and *Jewish* Rulers, is not denied.

3. And because some think that this was proper only to Apostles or men sent immediately by Christ, we add, that it is not denied that this was the case of others in that Age: As *Timothy*, (who is charged before God and Angels to Preach in season and out of season, 2 *Tim.* 4. 1,2.) *Titus*, *Apollo*, *Silas*, and such others; and of all the setled Elders of the Churches, *Act.* 14. *v.* 23. *Tit.* 1. 5. 2 *Thes.* 5.12,13. *Heb.* 13.17, *&c.*

4. And it is not denied that this was the case of all the ordinary Pastors for the first three hundred years, under the unbelieving Emperors. And as is aforesaid, even these were Governours of the Christian Pastors and Churches (who are commanded *Rom.* 13. to obey them.) and they wanted not Governing power, though in part they wanted *aptitude to use it well*; so that Christians were to obey even Heathen Governours in lawful things.

5. And it is undeniable that this was the judgment and case of the Fathers and People of the Church under the Christian Emperours that were

were *Arrians*, or favoured the *Arrians*: And as is aforesaid, the *Arrians* would have subscribed to all the *Nicene* Creed, (that Christ is *Light of Light, God of God, very God of very God, begotten, not made*, till they came to that one word ὁμοούσιος. Yea, *Eusebius* subscribed to that also, and to the whole, who yet (notwithstanding *Socrates*'s charitable excuse) is by his own Epistle from that Council to his People, plainly proved to be an *Arrian*, as *Petavius* hath fully manifested: And yet how the Churches of the East did commonly cleave to their Pastors when *Constantius* and *Valens* ejected them; and how they resolutely refused the imposed Bishops, some as *Arrians*, and some but as suspected, saying, *We have lawful Bishops already*, and how stifly they refused to forbear their forbidden Meetings, and Publick Worship with their former Pastors, Church-history puts us out of doubt.

Athanasius oft staved with his flock till banished by violence by *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Valens*:

Eustathius Bishop of *Antioch* did the like yea came to the Imperial City *Constantinople*, and there lived in secret to confirm the People and presumed to ordain a Patriarch of that City chosen against the Emperours will: For when *Eudoxius* was dead, the orthodox people chose *Evagrius*, a man of their own judgement, and refused *Demophilus*, *Socr. l.* 4. *c.* 13. Both the consecrator and the consecrated Bishop stayed with them till the Emperour sent souldiers from *Nicomedia* to master the people, and banished them both into several Countries, and at once put fourscore Priests to death (burning them in a

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ſhip at Sea,) to whom the people adhered, who came to petition him for juſtice and forbearance. Saith *Socr. cap.* 14. When the Emperour at *Edeſſa* gave the *Lieutenant a blow with his fiſt becauſe he had not ſcattered the Conventicles, as he had charged him, the Lieutenant, for all this great diſgrace, ſet himſelf, though unwillingly to obey the Emperours wrath and diſpleaſure; but gave notice ſecretly of it to the people (for it was far from his mind to fall a murthering ſo many godly Citizens,) that none ſhould ſhew his face in the Temple, that none ſhould be found raiſing of any Conventicle: But not one made account of his advice, nor regarded his threats, for the day following all flocked in great companies to the Temple.* Then followeth the mention of a woman that with her little Child haſtned through the crowd to the meeting hoping to die with the reſt. The citizens of *Cyzicum* baniſhed *Eunomius* from their City, whom *Eudoxius* had preferred to that Biſhoprick, not ſo much for his *Errours* as for his *arrogant* and *inſolent manner* of Preaching, with Logical tricks and ſophiſms which they could not bear, and ſo they drove him to *Conſtantinople* where he layd by his Biſhops Office *Id. c.* 7.

And when *Eleuſius* repenting of his ſin in a forced ſubſcribing to the *Ariminum* faith would have had them have choſen another Biſhop, they would have or acknowledg no other but him; being the undoubted Chuſers of their own Biſhop *Ib. c.* 7.

The City of *Antioch* fell into two parties of the *Orthodox*, beſides the *Arrians*, and choſe two Biſhops *Paulinus* and *Meletius*; Though it was then

then contrary to the Canons that one City should have two Bishops, none questioned the peoples right to chuse, nor denied either of them to be *true Bishops*: And though the Emperour forbore *Paulinus* for his rare parts and virtues, and banished only *Meletius*, the people would not obey his Orders, but still assembled as before.

We are not ignorant what tumults popular Elections of Bishops have oft caused: But two things all acquainted with antiquity know which much serve to counterballance this objection: 1. That where Emperours and Synods of Bishops have made themselves the Electors, the tumults or confusions, or at least the consequent evills were not less but greater: 2. And when they did thus assume the Election (which was for the most part but in a few great seats and not of ordinary Bishops) still they suppose a necessity of the peoples consent. When the Emperour chose the Patriarchs, what one Emperour did another undid: And the peoples dissent undid it sooner: and the Ruling Bishops so oft disagreed, that their synods and Churches were lamentably militant. By the favour of the Emperour, *Dioscorus* was the strongest at *Ephesus* having the Souldiers and Rulers on his side, and by them the Major Vote of the Bishops: But it was more *Theodosius* and his Officers that carryed it than equity; even to the condemning of *Eusebius* and such others, and the beating of *Flavianus* the Patriarch of *Const.* unto death: And when by the Emperour and prevailing Bishops will, new Bishops were placed (*Anatolius* at *Const.* *Maximus* at *Antioch*, *Nonus* at *Edessa*, *Athanasius* for *Savinian* &c,) saith *Liberatus* in *Breviario*

Breviaro cap. 12 *ſchiſma factum eſt inter eos quale antea nunquam contigerat. Ægypti, Thraces & Paleſtini Epiſcopi Dioſcorum ſequebantur, Orientales, Ponticis & Aſiani Sanctæ Memoriæ Flavianum: Quod Schiſma Permanſit uſque ad obitum Theodoſii Principis.* But when *Martian* was made Emperour, all was undon again: that went for Hereſie, which before went for the right belief, *Dioſcorus* was baniſhed, *Proterius* was choſen; and how choſen: ſaith *Liberatus c.* 14. *ut cum omnium civium voluntate eligerint ordinandum Epiſcopum, ſacris ob hoc literis præcedentibus, ad Theodorum tunc Auguſtalem collecti ſunt ergo Nobiles Civitatis, ut eum qui eſſet vitæ & ſermone Pontificatu dignus, eligerint: Hoc enim & Imperialibus ſanctionibus jubebatur, N. B.* Yet all this quieted not the people becauſe *Dioſcorus* was ſtill by the moſt taken for their true Biſhop; ſo that *Proterius* was fain to live under the guard of Souldiers among them: *Timothy Ælurus*, and *Peter Moggus* keeping ſeparate Congregations, would not communicate with *Proterius*; and no ſooner did they hear of *Martians* death, but the people in tumult murdered *Proterius* in the Church, mangled him, caſt out, and burnt his carcaſs, and ſcattered his aſhes in the wind, and made *Timothy Ælurus* their Biſhop: And thenceforward *Alexandria* had two Biſhops: And both ſides petitioning the new Emperour *Leo* to be for them, he commanded (upon examination) his General to caſt out *Timothy, & alium decreto populi qui Synodum Calced. vindicaret, inthronizare*, This *Stila* the Captain performeth, and another *Timothy Salophaciolus* is choſen: But when after *Leo's* death

Baſi-

Basiliscus usurped the Empire against *Zeno*, this *Timothy* is cast out again, and the other restored; and other Bishops changed accordingly in opposition to the Council of *Calcedon*. And no sooner was *Zeno* restored, but all was returned back again, and *Æluras* poisoned himself to escape worse: Yet did his Party make *Peter Moggus* their Bishop; and the Emperour commanded *Anthimius* to cast him out, and set up *Timothy Saloph.* again: But while the Emperours chose who should have the Publick Authority and Temples, they left the people to joyn in the choice, and the Dissenters kept up their own Bishops and Schism. And thus the matter went on uncured: And very ordinarily it was the *Pulcheria*'s, *Theodora*'s, *Eudoxia*'s, and such other women, the Empresses, that by Historians are said to dispose of these matters, and make such Patriarchs and Bishops: And these courses still increased Schisms: Of the *Joannites* at *Constantinople* we spake before. What a calamitous Schism was that at *Alexandria* between the Party that held Christ's body incorruptible, called by the other the *Phantasiastæ*; and those that held it corruptible called the *corrupticolæ*, one part taking *Gaianus* for the Bishop, and the other *Theodosius*; and the secular power, setting up one, the Soldiers and the city fought it out. abundance on both sides being slain, and yet the Soldiers had the worst, and *Theophilus* was forced away.

In *Justinians* time when *Paulus* an Orthodox man was made Patriarch, he could not hold his seat without such plots, as occasioned *Rhodo* the *Augustalis* to murder *Psoius* the Deacon, which

which cost *Rhodo* and *Arsenius* their lives, and *Paulus* his contemptuous deposition, by the Emperours justice. Should we but run over the history of other great Churches, especially *Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Ephesus, Cesarea*, alas how sadly would it shew that neither Emperours nor synods assuming the power did end such Schismes, but increase them, where the Bishopricks were so great as to seem a very desirable prey: But where they were small and poor, there was far greater peace and quietness, though the people commonly had their choice, and every where their consent was judged necessary; the proofs of which might fill a Volume. See in *Synodo Romano quarto sub Symmacho* (*in Binnio Vol. 2. p. 288.*) *&c.* the claim of *Odoacer* that no Bishop of *Rome* should be made without the consent of the King of *Italy*; And the Bishops speeches against it. Even in the daies of *Gregor. 1. Rom.* You may see how things went, by the constant tradition of the Church; *Epist. 22.* (*in Bin. Vol. 2. p. 759. recitat*) [*natalem Salonitanæ Ecclesiæ fratrem & coepiscopum nostrum obiisse discurrens in partibus istis fama vulgavit: Quod si verum est experientia tua omni instantia omnique solicitudine* CLERUM & POPULUM *ejusdem Civitatis admonere festinet, quatenus uno consensu ad ordinandum sibi debeant eligere Sacerdotem; factoque in personam quæ fuerit electa decreto, ad nos transmittere studebis, ut cum nostro consensu sicut priscis fuit temporibus ordinetur. Illud præ omnibus tibi curæ sit ut in hac electione nec datio quibusque modis interveniat præmiorum, nec quarumlibet personarum patrocinia convalescant; nam si quo-*

rundam patrocinio fuerit quisquam Electus, Voluntatibus eorum cum fuerit ordinatus obedire, reverentia exigente compellitur---Talem ergo te admonente personam debent eligere, quæ nullius incongruæ voluntati deserviat, sed vita & moribus decorata, tanto ordine digna valeat inveniri. And at the Council *Paris.* 3. in the daies of Pope *John* 3. and K. *Childebert*, when Kings were forbidden to make Bishops, it was ordained *Can.* 8. that [*Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur Episcopus; nisi quem Populi & Clericorum electio plenissima quæsierit voluntate, non principis imperio.* And the Bishops are forbidden to receive him into their number who is made by Kings.

At the Council of *Calcedon*, *Act.* 12. it was determined, that neither of the two Bishops of *Ephesus*, *Bassianus*, or *Stephanus*, could be Bishops, because not duly elected, but a third to be chosen. See also for the peoples unanimous Election of their Bishop *Greg.* 1. *Epist.* 65. *in Bin. Vol.* 2. *p.* 890.

We need not bid the Learned enquire whether *Gregory Nazoces. Basil*, *Ambrose*, *Martin*, *Damasus*, (and so of the rest) ordinarily were Bishops without the consent of the people over whom they were placed: And though sometimes the peoples choice have (many hundred years only after Christs time, but not in the Primitive Church) been restrained, so was not their consenting voice denied.

I have translated and adjoyned the Epistle of *Cyprian* and an *Africane* Council with him (where were then the best ordered Churches in the World, as farr as I can learn) in which they counsel the Churches of *Basilides* and *Martial*

to

to forsake them because they were Libellatiks in persecution, proving from Scripture that *uncapable persons cannot* be *Pastors*, and that such scandalous sinners and bad men were uncapable persons (*forma non recipitur in materiam indispositam*;) charging it upon their consciences as from Gods word; shewing them that els they will be Guilty of their sins because the chief power is in the people both of chusing the worthy, and forsaking the unworthy. And yet these two Bishops lived beyond the Seas in another Country, and the Bishops of their own Country and the Bishop of *Rome* had dealt more gently with them, and adjudged Communion to them. And the *Africans* pretended to no authority over them, but by Counsell told them of Gods own Law, which no man had power to invalidate. They charge the people as heinous sinners if they forsake not a wicked unmeet Bishop or Pastor. what Libellaticks were I supposed the reader to know (*viz.* such as to save their lives in persecution, had permitted another to put their names by subscription to a false profession that favoured idolatry or infidelity.)

Obj. 1. *But Cyprian and the African Council: were mistaken in the point of Rebaptizing those baptized by Hereticks; and so they might be here.)*

Anſ. 1. The Council of *Nice* decreed the rebaptizing of those that were baptized by some Hereticks, though not by all: And if the *Africans* did not confine the word to such, they erred only in not sufficiently distinguishing of Hereticks. 2. If we are excused from receiving the testimony of such Fathers and Councils as had any Errour, or as great an Errour as that,

you may see what will follow. 3. We do not cite *Cyprian* and the *African* Council as infallible, nor as having more Governing power over us than the present Rulers, but as being *to us* (I say *to us*) of more credit and authority in telling us what is *jure divino* than those Bishops or others that now condemn us as Schismaticks.

4. *Cyprian* and the *African* Councill were not forbidden for this judgment of theirs to Preach Christs Gospel, nor cast out of the Churches, nor sent to Goals, nor called and used as Rogues and Schismaticks, and farr worse then drunkards, adulterers, yea or the atheists and infidels among us. (Nor were the people that obeyed their Councill so used.) But the names of these holy men are venerable to this day.

Obj. 2. *There were then no Christian Magistrates, and therefore the peoples power must be used in their stead.*

Ans. Church power was the same before and after. The Lawes of Christ concerning it altered not. The Pastors were then the Guides of the people by divine right: And the power of the Keyes was no less forcible or effectual as used by the Bishops and Presbyters, than when the power of the sword was added to them (if not much more.) And the peoples power of chooſing and refusing Bishops continued many hundred years after Magistrates were Christians, confirmed even by Popes and Councills.

Obj. 3. *This would cast all into confusion, and there would be no Church Government, if the people be Judges when a Minister is bad, and then may pull him down or forsake him, and choose ano-*

ther.

Answ.

Anſw. This is after further anſwerd. I now only ſay 1. The people may not touch his Perſon, by violence, nor deprive him of his benefice or temple, nor yet degrade him: As they that change their Phyſician or Lawyer do no ſuch thing, but ſimply chooſe one that they can truſt. No man will win more by my ſalvation than I ſhall, nor would ſuffer more than I by it if I were damned: Who is more than I concerned what becometh of my ſoul? Am I not to have more care of it than of my eſtate or health of body? Who can eaſily believe thoſe men that ſend us to goales and ruin us for truſting our ſoules with ſuch Guides as to the beſt of our underſtandings we think meeteſt, or at leaſt for avoiding ſuch as we cannot ſo farr truſt, and then tell us that they do it becauſe they love our ſouls better than we love our ſelves, and therefore will not truſt them to our choice. 2. what confuſion doth it cauſe that every man now chooſeth his owne Tutor in philoſophy, his own maſter, his own Lawyer and phyſician, and every woman at age her own husband.

3. Doth not the Church of *England* (as is ſaid) allow every man his choice, when no man is forbidden to forſake any Biſhop or Paſtor and chooſe another by removing his habitation when he pleaſes? So that all this is but about Pariſh bounds, which is confeſſed to be of humane alterable conſtitution. And how ordinarily do many Gentlemen of the Church of *England* go from their own Pariſhes in *London*? 4. You may ſee by *Philip Nyes* printed papers, and Mr. *Tombs* his, that even thoſe called Independents

and ſome Anabaptiſts are for hearing ſuch Pariſh-Teachers as their Rulers ſhall appoint, ſo they may but commit the Paſtoral care of their ſouls to ſuch as they can better truſt, and have Sacraments and ſpecial Church Communion free.

5. what great confuſion doth it breed in *London* that the French and Dutch Churches thus differ from the reſt, and have their proper modes and Government? Yea or that the Nonconformiſts by the favour of his Majeſties Licenſes had their choice and ſeveral meetings. Let not envy and animoſity feign greater confuſion than there is, and the matter will appear much otherwiſe than it is repreſented, even that the diſcords and confuſions were incomparably leſs (on that occaſion) than they were under the Biſhops in the better times of the Churches, even from *An.* 400 to 600, of which more in due place.

6. They that will condemn all that hath inconveniences, ſhall condemn all things in this world: But the Greateſt muſt be noted and avoided firſt. Shall the people have any judgment of diſcerning or not? If yes, the bounds of it muſt be ſhewed, and not the thing denyed as if it muſt bring in all confuſion. If Uſurpers claim the Crown, the Subjects muſt judge which is their true King, and muſt defend his right. Will you ſay, If the people be Judges, they may ſet up Uſurpers, and put down the King? They are but diſcerners of that which is before their duty. They have no right to erre, nor to alter the Law or right: But if it be otherwiſe, they are to be ruled as brutes: And ſo muſt not judge ſo much as whom they muſt obey. Is there any

Chriſtian

Christian that dare say, that Bishops or Princes are in all things to be obeyed, lest the people be made Judges? And so that under Heathen, Mahometan Papist, Heretical Rulers, they must be all of their Religion, as to the external professing and practising part? None dare for shame say so, save an Infidel. Is not this a greater confusion or michief than that which is now disputed against: Therefore the bounds must be set on both sides, which are not difficult to discern: As the people have property in their limbs, children and liberties, and acquisitions antecedently to humane Government, which is to order these, and not to destroy them; so have all men greater interest in the safety of their own souls, which no man can take from them; no nor is it in their just power to put it into the hands of others from themselves. If Hereticks, blind guides, or faithless men, or insufficient, be made Pastors of the Flocks, and all men commanded to hear no better, nor trust the Pastoral Conduct of their souls into any wiser or safer hands, Satan will be more gratified by it, than by the disorder of the peoples chusing their own spiritual Councillors, Tutors and Physicians. And when Church-communion is due to none but voluntary accepters, men should not be used so as to take it still against their wills, and to be as it were *crammed* and drencht with sacred Mysteries, & driven to take them against their consciences and wills from such as they think they cannot communicate with, without being guilty of their sin: When some Councils have owned Pope *Nicholas*'s decree, that no man ought to hear the Mass from a fornicating Priest; much

less from men that are far more liable to exceptions.

To this I may add, that as in divers cases the Canons and Decrees forbad hearing some Priests, and allowed several Churches in the same ground, so they seem to give that Pastor a right to the Conduct of the People, who was the chief Converter of them from Infidelity or Heresie: And hence was the Popes Controversie with the *Greeks* about the *Bulgarians*, and his claim to the Church of *England*, and many others, because he said his Missionaries converted them. I shall specially note here, that the old Canons sent by *Adrian* to *Carolus Mag.* recited by *Canisius* and *Binius*, say, ["*That no one must pray with Hereticks or Schismaticks*"] and so not with Papist-Bishops that are the greatest Schismaticks by dividing Impositions ["*That if a Bishop six months after admonition of other Bishops neglect to make Catholicks of the people* (multitudes then being Heathens and Hereticks) *belonging to his seat, any other shall obtain them that shall deliver them from their Heresie.*"] Yet the Bishop is not deposed, but another Bishop and Church of the new Converts set up in his Precincts, and so a Church gathered in the Precincts of another Church and Bishop. And so *Gregory Nazianzen* did long preach as their Pastor in a small Church in *Constantinople*, before he had possession of the Cathedral; the people claiming him for their profiting by his teaching; and *Theodosius* gave him the Cathedral as merited by his success. And in the said old Canons, *c.* 19. its said, that *Dioceses* (which then were every Corporation and the Suburbs or Villages) "*which*

"*want*

" *want Bishops receive none without the consent of* " *the Bishop who hitherto held them* (so be it) *not* " *proudly: For if he over-hold them, affecting to* " *sit over the people, and despising his fellow-* " *Bishops, he is not only to be driven from the re-* " *tained Diocese, but also from his own Church.* And *ex Con. Sard.* 2. " [*A Bishop that by ambi-* " *tion changeth his seat* (which was then for- " bidden by the Canons) *shal not have* (so much as) " *Lay-communion,* (no not) *at the end* (his death.)

Even old *Clemens Romanus, ad Corinth.* tells them that they ought not to cast out these Ministers that live unblameably, having been Constituted by the Apostles or *deinceps ab aliis viris celebribus, Cum Consensu Universæ Ecclesiæ.*

But I find the Roman and Tyrannical spirit much insisting uppon this, that the Christian Religion was but in the shell or Embryo in the Apostles dayes; and under Christian Emperours is grown up to the maturity of Papacie, riches, pomp, and grandeur, and that great power which the Christian Emperours gave the Patriarchs and prelates of their times. But this Hypothesis must be better proved before we can receive it: We confess that for extent and number the Church was there in its minority: But if it was so as to infallibility of doctrine & perfection of Laws, and exemplary lives, then the Pope is better than Christ and his Apostles and their contemptible Decretals and firebrand Councills are better than the sacred scriptures, and their degenerate Clergie and people better than the ancient holy peaceable Christians,& their blood-shedders better than the Martyrs,and the Cross-makers better than the Cross-bearers; which

are

are things that the worldly sort may believe more easily than mortified and heavenly Christians.

One testimony more we will add for the antiquity, and the estimation of many that are against us. And that is the Apostolicall constitutions, *Lib*, 8. *cap.* 4 *de ordinationibus*, (having said before *cap* 2. that *Episcopus ignorantia aut malo animo oppletus, Episcopus non est. sed falsus Episcopus, non a Deo sed ab hominibus promotus,*) they here say that a Bishop must be one that [*a cuncto populo ex optimis quibusque electus est. Quo nominato & placente, populus in unum Congregatus* (not a thousand Churches but one) *una cum Presbyteris, atque Episcopis præsentibus Die Dominico consentiat. Quis vero inter reliquos princeps Episcopus est, percontetur Presbyteros & populum an ipse sit quem præesse petant? & illis annuentibus rursus percontetur an tribuunt ei omnes testimonium quod dignus sit hoc magno & illustri munere præsidendi? An quæ ad pietatem erga Deum pertinent recte peregerit? An jura adversus homines servarit? An domum suam résque domesticas recte administraverit, & an vita ei per omnia honeste & laudate acta fuerit? cum vero Omnes simul, non secundum opinionem præjudicatam, sed secundum veritatem testificati fuerint, talem esse eum, tanquam in conspectu judicis Dei & Christi, præsente etiam Spiritu Sancto, atque omnibus sanctis & administratoriis spiritibus, rursus tertio interrogent, utrum sit dignus Ministerio, ut in ore duorum vel trium stet omne verbum: Et cum tertiò annuerint, et dignum esse assensi fuerint, petatur ab omnibus ut præbeant signum assensus: Et libenter præbentes audiantur*] We urge not this as of Apostolicall authority, but

but as of great antiquity, and agreeing with the primitive practise. This course much differeth from the ordaining of a Bishop at an hundred miles distance from his Church; Yea ordaining him, not in or to a particular Church, but to many hundred Churches when the people neither know him nor are present, and yet the question's askt as if they were. And as the people had ever a chusing or a free consenting Voice, so they oft received Bishops and Presbyters who were ordained by such as were outcasts, Nonconformists, and banished both by Emperours and Synods; as in many more instances might be proved: As also that they adhered to the Pastors so chosen, notwithstanding their ejections by the Imperial Power; yea and by such Councils as they thought to be unjust; as the sad divisions by the displacings, restorings, and changes of Bishops by the Councils of *Constantinople*, 1. *Ephesus*, 2. & *Calcedon*, and by the Emperours in those times, do fully prove, the people following some one, and some another; though fear oft prevailed for conformity with the greater part. (And no wonder when so many Bishops at the Council of *Calcedon* professed that *for fear* they had judged against *Flavianus* for *Eutichus* against their consciences, and even old *Osius*, and many more at *Ariminum* did the like; and when the powers changed, cryed, *Omnes peccavimus*; and when under *Theodosius* 2d. so many went one way, who under *Martian* went another way, even in point of Heresie.

When *Mavia* the *Saracen* Queen chose *Moses* a Monk to be her Bishop, as the condition of her peace with the *Roman* Empire, *Moses* would

not

not be ordained by *Lucius*; not becauſe he was an *Arrian*, but becauſe he was a perſecutor, and hurtful to other men for Religion, and ſo he would be ordained Prieſt by ſome that were baniſhed to a certain Mountain, *Socr. l. 4. c. 29.* When the Emperour was gone from *Antioch* (where in perſon he went to diſperſe their Meetings, and yet they held on) the people thruſt out *Lucius* whom he had ſet up, and ſet up *Peter* again whom the Emperour had baniſhed. But ſuch inſtances are too many to be recited. Yea under Orthodox Princes, the people would cleave to their injured Paſtors, though againſt the Emperours will, as they of *Millane* did to *Ambroſe*; and the *Joannites* to *Chryſoſtom*, who even long after his death ſeparated from the Biſhop, and kept up their ſeparate Meetings againſt the will of Prince and Prelates, till milder Biſhops inſtead of perſecuting them, reſtored *Chryſoſtom's* bones and name to honour, and reconciled them. It will ſtill be objected, as before, that moſt of theſe inſtances were but the peoples rejection of *Arrians*: But again, we anſwer 1. In *other* inſtances, they uſually choſe their Paſtors, and cleaved to them, though prohibited. 2. Theſe *Arrians* were ſuch as ſubſcribed the *Ariminum* Creed, which was ſo ambiguouſly compiled, that abundance that renounced *Arius*, did think that for *obedience* and *peace* they might put a fair ſenſe on the words, and ſo ſubſcribe them: And we meet with perſons in our times, that think words impoſed on them by Superiours, may and muſt endure *ſtretching* to a ſenſe as far from their uſual acceptation, as the foreſaid words were ſtretched by the

he *Ariminum* Subscribers. 3. They that never accused and convicted the refused Bishops of Arrianism, yet adhered to their former Bishops. 4. It seemeth then that the people are left Judges (as to the guiding of their own practice) what Bishops to refuse as heterodox, and whom to own as Orthodox.

And indeed the saying of *Cyprian* is well known, that [*The people have the greatest power both to chuse a worthy Priest, and to refuse or forsake the unworthy.*]

6. All Protestants believe that it is no Schism in *France*, or other Papist Countries, to chuse Pastors, and meet for the Worship of God, though forbidden by the Civil and Ecclesiastick Governors of the place.

Obj. *That is because that the Princes are Papists.*

Ans. A Papist King is to be obeyed in lawful things: what Protestant denieth that?

Obj. *But it is because that the Churches and Worship in those Countries is such as it is not lawful to be present at.*

Ans. 1. This Objection granteth, that when the commanded Assemblies or Worship are such as it is not lawful to be present at; 1. The people are discerning Judges; 2. And may lawfully meet elsewhere under Pastors of their own choice.

2. But let the Question be, (not whether we may be present in *their Churches*, but) whether we may set up *other Churches*, when we are necessarily kept from those established by Publick Power? and it will go far.

7. When the Form of *Worship and Concord* called the *Interim*, was by *Charles* the 5th. imposed on the *German* Protestants, (being drawn up

up by *Julius Pflug*, *Sidonius*, and *Isiebius Agricola*, men pretending to moderation, as not imposing the Mass, &c. the Protestants judged it lawful to gather Assemblies, and keep up Churches contrary to such an Edict of the Emperour: One half of them held on their former way, till banishment or other violence hindred them. *Melanchthon* and the others that thought the things commanded not utterly unlawful, conformed only to prevent the utter desolation of the Churches; but not in conscionable obedience to the Emperours Edict, as if it had been any Schism to do otherwise if they could have been endured: As may be seen in *Melanchthon*'s own words in his Epistles, and elsewhere.

8. The most of Protestants at this day hold, that it is no Schism to keep up Churches of their several Parties, against their Princes will and prohibition. Those called Arminians in *Belgia* so think. *Episcopius* writeth at large, that if Ministers be forbid to Preach, and People to Assemble (in their case) they must go on, though they suffer death for it (saving that prudence may direct them sometime to avoid a present storm.) The Churches under the Duke of *Brandenburgh* are generally contrary to his judgment in Religion: And should the Princes of *Saxony*, *Brunswick*, *Hassia*, &c. or the Kings of *Sweden*, or *Denmark* turn *Calvinists*, their Clergy would be far from thinking it their duty to cease their Assemblies of the *Lutheran* Profession and Worship.

Bishop *Andrews* is so far from tying all Ministers to the Kings will, that he saith [*cohibeat Regem Diaconus, si cum indignus sit idque palam constet, accedat tamen ad Sacramentum.*]

i.e.

i. e. Let (even) a *Deacon restrain the King, if he come to the Sacrament being unworthy, and that be openly manifest.*]

" Bishop *Bilson* of subjection *p.* 399 saith, " [The Election *of Bishops in those daies belonged* " *to the people and not to the Prince: and though* " *Valens by plain force placed Lucius there, yet* " *might the people Lawfully reject him as no Bi-* " *shop and cleave to Peter their right Pastor.*] " Mark that he layeth it not on his *Error*, but on his *entrance* without the *peoples Election* and that they might reject him as *no Bishop*. We see here the full concurrence of such English Bishops as were the most Learned and zealous defenders of *Episcopacy* and loyalty.

The same Bishop *ibid. p.* 236. Saith more plainly, " [*Princes have no right to call* or *confirm* " *Preachers, but to receive such as be sent of God* " *and give them Liberty for their Preaching and* " *security for their persons: and if Princes refuse so* " *to do, Gods labourers must go forward with that* " *which is commanded them from Heaven; Not* " *by disturbing Princes from their Thrones, nor* " *invading their Realms as your father doth,* " *and defenders he may do; but by mildly submit-* " *ting themselves to the powers on Earth and* " *meekly suffering for the defence of the truth, what* " *they shall inflict.*] This is the summ of all that " we here intend. so *pag.* 313. he saith [we " *grant that they must rather hazard their lives* " *than baptize Princes which beleive not,* or " *distribute the Lords mysteries to them that* " *repent not, but give willful and open signification* " of *impiety, &c.*] *So Beda Hist. Eccl, l.* 2. *c.* 5. " Tells us that *Melitus* Bishop of London (with

" *Justus*)

" *Justus*) was banished by the heirs of King " *Sabbareth*, because he would not give them " the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which they " would have had before they were baptized.

Yet all this is no justification of causeless disobedience to Magistrates that circumstantiate sacred things according to their Office; nor will it justifie any Schismatical societies: *Vespæ habent favos, & Marcionitæ Ecclesias* saith *Tertullian*.

XLIV. 12. If any persons shall pretend to have the power of Governing the Churches and Inferior Pastors as their Bishops, who are obtruded on those Churches without the *Election* or *consent* of the *people* or *Inferior Pastors*, and these Bishops shall by Lawes or mandates forbid such Assembling, Preaching or Worship as otherwise would be Lawful and a duty, It is no Schism to disobey such Laws or mandates as such; Nor do such disobey their Pastors, they being truly no Bishops of theirs till they do consent (however in some cases the advantages of some imposed persons may make it an act of *Prudence*, and so a *duty* to consent, as is aforesaid,) It was no Schism for the people of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Cesarea*, *Constantinople &c.* to refuse Ecclesiastical obedience to the ill Bishops set over them by the Emperour to whom they did not consent; But the Schism was theirs who complied with the imposed Usurpers. Here it must be noted, that Church history hath constrained all that understand it to confess (both Papists, Greeks, and Protestants, that the *ordination* of Bishops and Presbyters was in the power of the Bishops and the *Election* in the power of the people, not only the

the first 300 years under heathen Emperours, but for many hundred years after under Christian Emperours and Princes. 2. That this was taken for their right given them by God. To cite more proofs, for this would expose us to the readers censure, as unnecessary tediousness: Many Papists largely prove it; As doth *David Blondel* beyond exception, *de jure plebis in regimine Ecclesiastico*, with more. 3. That yet we here plead not for the necessity of so much as the peoples election as it signifieth the first nomination of the person, but only for the necessity of *consent*, either explicitly or implicitly expresst. If the senior Pastors have the first nomination, or if it be the Magistrate, or Patrons, as with us, we quarrel not against it, if the flock do but *consent*.

Parents may Chuse Husbands and Wives for their Children; but they are not *such at* all till *mutual consent*.

XLV. 13. The *consent* of a *few of the Church*, is not the consent of *the Church*; Nor is it Schism for the Major part to differ from their choice or determinations (as such.) In *Government*, *the will of the Sovereign is the publick will*; But in *contracts*, and *consent* of a *Community*, where *Unity* is the thing intended, and *voting* the means, the Major part is denominatively the society, (unless they have made others their trustees or delegates in Electing, Consenting themselves to what they do,) such societies are not denominated from the Minor, or a small part, as contradistinct from the rest. If a Dioceſs have a thousand, or 600, or 300 Parish Pastors, and a hundred thousand or a million of people (or 50000 or 20000 as you

will ſuppoſe) and if only a dozen or twenty Presbyters, and a thouſand people (or none) chuſe the Biſhop, this is not the Election or conſent of the Dioceſan Church; Nor is it Schiſm for 20000 to go againſt the votes of 2000.

XLVI. 14. If Biſhops that have no better a foundation of their relative power over that particular flock, ſhall impoſe inferior Paſtors or Presbyters on the Pariſh-Churches;& command the peoples acceptance & obedience, the people are not bound to accept and obey them by any authority that is in that command as ſuch : Nor is it Schiſm to diſobey it, no more than it is treaſon to reject the Uſurper of a Kingdom.

XLVII. 15. whileſt ſuch obtruded Pariſh Paſtors have no conſent of the flock (explicite or implicite) *that Pariſh is no Pariſh Church*, in the proper Political Organized ſenſe, as we now ſpeak of a Church, as conſtituted by the Governing and Governed parts. For that which wanteth an eſſential part, wanteth the Eſſence, And therefore it is no Schiſm to pronounce it *no ſuch Church*, and to deny it the Communion proper to ſuch a Church. Though yet as the word [*Church*] doth ſignifie an ungoverned Society *in potentia proxima* to receive Government, they may be improperly called a *Church* as they are in a vacancy.

XLVIII. 16. If they that make a Dioceſs the loweſt proper Church (which hath a Biſhop,and none under him) and a Pariſh to be but a part of the Dioceſan Church, and no proper Church of it ſelf, as having no *Epiſcopus Gregis*, ſhall accuſe thoſe as ſeparating from the Church,who ſeparate not from the Biſhop, and keep to any Pariſh

Parish in the Dioceſs, they contradict themſelves: Though ſuch forſake many Presbyters and Pariſhes.

XLIX. 17. If Princes or Prelates ſhall unjuſtly ſilence or depoſe ſo great a number of faithful Paſtors or Preachers, as ſhall leave people deſtitute of a neceſſary Preaching and Paſtoral help, it is no Schiſm, but a great duty, for ſuch Miniſters to preach, and paſtorally guide ſuch people; otherwiſe by the ſame reaſon, one man might put down Chriſtianity in an Empire at his pleaſure; or diſſolve the Churches.

L. If it be ſaid, that *it's true if he put down all, but not if he ſilence but a minor part.* We anſwer, that the reaſon is the ſame to thoſe to whom the *Miniſtry is neceſſary*, if he put down Miniſters to them. The ſupply of the Churches, *e. g.* in one City of a Kingdom, is no ſupply to the other Cities: And if a Pariſh have 10000, or 30000, or 50000, or 60000 ſouls, its no ſupply to all the reſt if 3000 of theſe have the benefit of a Preacher and Paſtor. The ſame power which may deny a Paſtor to ten parts of a Pariſh, may deny him to the eleventh part, that is, to all. So if competent Paſtors be ſet over *half the Pariſhes in a Kingdom*, and the *other half* hath incompetent men; or if nine parts of a Kingdom were competently ſupplied, and but the tenth part had not ſuch to whom the people may lawfully commit the Paſtoral Care of their ſouls, it is no Schiſm, but a duty for thoſe that are deſtitute, to get the beſt ſupply they can; and it is no Schiſm, but a duty, for faithful Miniſters, though forbidden by ſuperiours, to perform their Office to ſuch people that deſire it.

Their *General Ordination*, with the peoples *Neceſſity* and *Conſent* added to *God's General Commands to all his Miniſters to be faithful and diligent*, are a *ſufficient obliging Call* to ſuch Miniſtration, without the will of (prohibiting) Superiours; yea againſt it.

For 1. Elſe it were at the will of a man whether ſouls ſhall be ſaved or damned, (for how ſhall they believe unleſs they hear? and how ſhall they hear without a Preacher?) and whether Chriſt ſhall have a Church; and God be publickly worſhiped, or not.

2. Our Ordination conſecrateth us to our Office, during life: And it is Sacriledge and Covenant-breaking with God to caſt it off and alienate our ſelves.

3. God hath deſcribed the Office and the Work in his Word, and charged his ſervants to give the children their bread in due ſeaſon, and adjured them before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, and his Kingdom, to preach the Word, & be inſtant, in ſeaſon, & out of ſeaſon, &c.

4. The indiſpenſible Law of Nature obligeth every man according to his Place and Calling, his Ability, and his *Opportunities*, to do his beſt to propagate Chriſt's Goſpel, and to ſave mens ſouls, as much and more than to feed mens bodies, and ſave their lives: But our Calling is to do it as Miniſters of Chriſt, thereto devoted. And we did not receive this Calling to be altered, or forborn at the will of man, but to be performed according to the Word of God: Men being not the *Makers of the Office*, nor of God's Law under which we execute it; nor the *Do-*

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nors or *Limiters* of the Power, but only 1. The Electors of the Persons that shall receive it; 2. And the Invesiters of them in it by Ministerial delivery; 3. And the Governours of us in the exercise of it, according to God's Laws, by which they may punish us for male administration, but cannot dissolve the Laws obligation to those that are indeed commanded by it.

LI. Obj. 2. *If there be able Preachers in one part of the Parishes*, and *the other part have such as deliver all that is necessary* to *salvation intelligibly, it is unlawful to Preach against the will of the Prince* or *Prelates* in such a Country.

Ans. We deny this unproved assertion. 1. Indeed it will follow that such persons are justly condemned by God, if they repent not though they had but a Reader. 2. And that they should be thankful for so much, and gladly accept it in such Churches when they can have no better, But not 1. that it is in the power of any man justly to forbid them better, when God provideth it, 2. Nor that they must obey such a prohibition, as such. (Though *prudence* may discern forbearance to be a duty by accident, when the hurt would be greater than the good.) There is no *doctrine objectively* of *absolute necessity* to salvation, but the doctrine of the *Baptismal Covenant* which is expounded in the *Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue*. But there is much *Doctrinal* and *active Means* necessary to make men *Understand, Believe, Love*, and *Practise*, this necessary Covenant doctrine. And the doctrine or articles of faith, will save none that do not *Understand, Believe, Love, and Practise* it, and that sincerely preferring the things

revealed before all the pleasures, riches and honours of this World. A Parrot shall not be a Saint for saying the Creed.

LII. These following matters of fact are presupposed to the answer of this objection, and in them all sober Protestants are (as we suppose) agreed.

1. That this aforesaid sincerity of *Faith, Repentance, Hope, Love,* and *Obedience, is made by God of necessity to salvation.*

2. That as it will not profit a man to win all the World and lose his soul, so neither will *doctrinal formality*, or *obedience* to superiours that hinder sound Preachers, recompence him for the loss of his soul; And that God would not have mens Government maintained by mens damnation, nor will the ungodly be the best members of Church or Kingdoms: Order is a means to save men, and not damn them, some few Heathens offer to Devils a sacrifice of mans flesh, and blood: But if a man should offer to God (the Lover, Saviour, and Sanctifyer of souls) a Sacrifice of the souls of thousands, and say, *All these are to be kept* in *Ignorance* and *ungodlyness* and *so to be damned,* to *please God who will have them obey their superiours, at that rate*; this were a dishonour to God of unexpressible iniquity and errour. Christ that hath taught men to seek first his Kingdom, and to take up the Cross, and to forsake Father and Mother and Life and all to serve him in the saving of their souls, and had planted inseparably *self love* into our natures, surely did not mean so Contrarily as that we must forsake Christ, Heaven, and Salvation, to obey men.

3. That

3. That certain experience putteth us past doubt, that ignorance, sensuality, worldliness, profaneness are far more common, and a holy heavenly mind and life, and all serious Christianity and obedience, far, very far more rare, in those Kingdoms and Parishes which have no plain, convincing, serious, lively and exemplary Preachers, than in those that have, although they be baptized, and have the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue in their Liturgie. And yet here are all things of absolute objective necessity to salvation. What a case the Moscovites are in, that have only Liturgies and Homilies read, we mentioned before: And how sad the case is among the Greeks, Armenians, Abassins, and most Papists, for want of better Preachers. *Bishop Usher* could say of the Irish, that more perished by not knowing what we are on both sides agreed in, than by their Popish Errours; And what a case the Scottish Highlanders, too many of the Welsh, and most Parishes in *England* were in, as to serious piety, which had heretofore but Readers, or Preachers that did less than read a Homilie, experience constraineth us to know: as also what difference there is yet to be seen as to serious faith and godliness, between the fruits of a clear, serious, holy, diligent Preacher, and of raw youths that say over a pedantik lifeless speech, and out of the pulpit little differ in speech or life, from Carnal Worldlings or formal Hypocrites. Though we know that all that profess to be seriously Religious, are not so, yet none are so that do not profess it as they have opportunity.

As we are not able to deny this experience

of the different fruits of different Teaching (when all have the Creed;) Nor dare deny the neceſſity of ſerious faith, repentance and holineſs to ſalvation (leſt we renounce the Goſpel,) nor yet that no men (much leſs moſt men or many thouſands) may as an act of obedience to man, refuſe thoſe helps which God provideth them, and without which few Comparatively are truely converted from a Carnal life and ſaved; ſo therefore we dare not think or ſay, that humane Lawes or orders are arguments of ſufficient weight to move them hereunto.

LIII. Obj. 3. *But the hurt of the peoples chuſing Teachers and Aſſemblies without or againſt the Rulers will, is greater than the hurt that cometh by the want of better Teachers.*

Anſ. 1. The peoples choice doth hurt by accident, in thoſe Countries, where the Rulers put down neceſſary helps, and where the people are Erroneous, Heretical, and Unruly, and ſo where the people would chooſe unſufferable men, ſuppoſing ſtill that no Church is conſtituted without mutual conſent of the Paſtor and the flock and that the Rulers alter not or violate not Chriſts Laws by which he hath appointed the ordering of Aſſemblies. Therefore it is the Rulers Office to hinder the people from doing miſchief, without hindering them from their duty and from doing well; To Govern them in their work, and not to forbid it.

2. If the Goſpel be hid (from the mind though not from the Ear) it is hid to them that are loſt 2. *Co.* 4. 3. And without holineſs none ſhall ſee God *Heb.* 12, 14. Chriſt will come

come in flaming Fire to render vengeance to them that know not God and obey not the Gospel, 2. *Thes.* 1. 10. 11. All they shall be damned that obey not the truth but have pleasure in unrighteousness 2. *Thes.* 2. 11. 12. They that live after the flesh shall die, and they that have not the spirit of Christ are none of his, *Rom.* 8. 9. 13. It is not then easie to think of a greater hurt, than to forbid men such means, without which experience assureth us that few comparatively are thus inlightened and renewed to God, and with which more Comparatively are renewed. To say that God *can* bless to us an ignorant heartless, Carnal Teacher, is no answer, while experience certifieth us that Comparatively he doth not do it. If the people would chuse such Pastors, *Rulers* must do their best to change their minds, and to provide *better* for them. But thats not the case that we are now speaking to. If people would run into Sects and Heresies, Rulers may *punish* and *restrain false Teachers* that dangerously corrupt the Christian doctrine and seduce the peoples souls; But they may not therefore silence the faithful Ministers of Christ, And adhereing to such Ministers, doth not any hurt of it self: Nor any way tend to the furthering of so much hurt, as the contrary would do.

3. For who knoweth where to bound his obedience to such silencers as aforesaid, If a thousand or two thousand faithful Ministers, must cease Preaching when so forbidden, why not 3000, why not 4000? If half a Kingdom; can you satisfie the consciences of the other half that they must not do so too, and so all Christian

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Kingdoms conform to Moſcovie when the Prince commandeth it. And if 1000 or 2000 or 3000 Pariſhes muſt chooſe the apparent hazard of their ſouls and refuſe ſuch helps as experience certifieth us they greatly need, in obedience to man, why muſt not the reſt of the Pariſhes do ſo alſo? May I give away the needfull helps to my ſalvation, becauſe others have them, as if their ſalvation might ſatisfie me inſtead of my own?

4. We acknowledge it a very great Mercy of God, to have a Chriſtian Prince, and that every Kingdom ſhould be Chriſtian, and that Princes muſt do what they can to accompliſh it; And that they are the Governours of Paſtors as well as of Phyſicians, (as is aforeſaid) and that it is moſt deſireable that the Church and Kingdom ſhould be commenſurate, and none in their Kingdoms reject the Goſpel. and that Paſtor or people who will do any thing contrary to this, or will not further it with all their power are great tranſgreſſours. But yet the old ſaying is true (owned even by the Papiſts, *vid. Pet. De Marca, De Eccl. Conſt.*) that *Eccleſia eſt in imperio*: And none but profeſſed conſenters are Chriſtians: And the Temple is a priſon and not a Church as men are there forcibly driven againſt their wills, ſo far is it from ſaving the ſouls of any.

Yet conſtraining the *ignorant* and *Heretical* to *hear ſound Teachers*, we are far from oppoſing. But when Paul hath ſaid [*Not a Novice,*] If Rulers will ſilence better Teachers, and ſet up *Novices*, that are unskilful in that great and ſacred work, and never felt that work of *faith, love,*

love, and heavenlyneſs, on their own ſouls which they muſt Preach to others, this will do more hurt, than the peoples choice of better men.

5. Yea if men of ſuch doctrine could once make Princes and people believe, that the people ought to receive only ſuch Paſtors as Princes chooſe for them, it may do more harm than all our ſects do: For ſects cannot caſt out religion at once; Nay uſually they periſh themſelves by their own diviſions and ſhame before they can ruine the Church. But Princes might change Religion as oft as the Moon changeth. And if good Princes were but the tenth part as rare, as they thought that ſaid [*In uno annulo*] &c. what then would become of Religion in the World?

LIV. And though we profeſs our great deteſtation of Church-Schiſms, and our lamentation for the ſad caſe of theſe Nations, and the Chriſtian world, by reaſon of them, believeing that Schiſm ſhould be odious to all Chriſtians; yet we are paſt doubt that aggravating ſome differences and breaches paſſionately by odious names, hath been Schiſmatical, by makeing the diſtance ſeem much greater than it was, and rendering Diſſenters odious to others, and teaching Adverſaries and ignorant perſons, to reproach men as guilty of more Schiſm than they are guilty of indeed. Among the Papiſts, if they unite in the Pope, they paſs not for Schiſmaticks or Hereticks, who differ in all thoſe many and great points, which *H. Fowlis, Montaltus*, the Jeſuits Morals, Mr. *Clarkſon*, &c. recite, *viz.* about Murder, Adultery, Fornication, King killing, ſeldom Loving God, &c. And among

among us, a man that doth but ſcruple certain Oaths, Subſcriptions, Covenants, Declarations, or a Ceremony, is charged by ſome with Schiſm.

LV. *The Diſtance of Doctrines or Objective Religion* muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the paſſion and peeviſhneſs, of *ſubjective diſtance* of mens *minds*, *e.g.* Suppoſe *Grammarians* differ about a Criticiſm (whether *Vergilius* or *Virgilius*) be the truer ſpelling; and Philoſophers differ *de vacuo, de definitione ſpatii, temporis, &c. de cauſa motus projectorum, &c.* and Divines differ of the tranſlation of a Text, of the antiquity of the Hebrew points, of the time of *Eaſter* day, of a Ceremony, or Form of Prayer, of the lawfulneſs of a Lay-Chancellors uſe of the Church-Keys; Would not an impartial ſtranger ſay, How concordant and happy are theſe men, that differ in no greater matters? And if they all fall together by the ears about ſuch things as theſe, it is an aggravated *Subjective Schiſm*, and a ſhame to ſuch wranglers, who deſerve the remedy of ſcolds: But ſure they that peaceably and calmly differ about the aforeſaid things, *viz.* whether we are bound to Love God once a year? whether the Pope may excommunicate and depoſe Kings, that will not extirpate all Proteſtants. Whether an excommunicate King may be murdered as no King, &c? theſe are far more diſtant really in point of Religion, than the other.

LVI. And we muſt lament that we find in Church-Hiſtory, and by too much experience, that there hath been, and is in too many Paſtors, ſuch a ſelfiſhneſs and high eſteem of their own judgments, and ſo little ſenſe of the common weakneſs of mankind, and the lowneſs of our higheſt

higheſt degrees of knowledge, and ſo little Love to others as to themſelves, that by envy and impatience, they raiſe or increaſe Schiſms in the Church, by making a cauſleſs outcry againſt Schiſm, or making little differences ſeem great: They that cannot bear with Perſons and Congregations, who in little matters differ from them, becauſe they prefer ſome other Teacher before them, and ſay ſomewhat againſt their opinions or ways, do condemn themſelves while they cry down Schiſmaticks, and ſeem not to know what manner of ſpirit they are of: *The Wiſdom from above is firſt pure, and then peaceable, and gentle, and eaſie to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and hypocriſie*; and the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowen in peace by peace-makers: But if there be envying and ſtrife, it is infernal wiſdom, earthly, ſenſual and deviliſh, introducing confuſion, and every evil work, whether it be found in Factions, Contentions, Antichurches and Hereticks, or in thoſe that can bear with no Diſſenters, nor receive them that are weak in the faith, but make things unneceſſary, and their own conceits and wills the meaſure of mens liberties and their cenſures. He that would purſue all as Rebels in a Kingdom, who interpret not every Law alike, would more divide the Kingdom, than all mens different expoſitions now do.

LVII. We do with ſorrow confeſs that the diſcords of the people about chuſing their Biſhops, hath been a great ſcandal to Infidels, and a great diſhonour to the Church, and hath cauſed many lamentable Schiſms, not only under Chriſtian Emperours, but Heathen. But it hath been

been greatest about the greatest Prelates, especially the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, &c. since *Damasus* got that seat by Conquest in the Church, a multitude of Schisms have fallen out even when Princes challenged the choice. A long time two at once, sometimes three, and once five or six Popes living that were and had been Popes. The Schism of the Donatists was so caused by Bishop set up against Bishop; so was that of the *Joanites* at *Constantinople*, and of *Dioscorus* at *Alexandria*, and many more. But it must be noted, 1. That the Electing Bishops-Priests and Magistrates, have occasioned these Schisms as much, if not far more than the *Electing people* have done 2. That yet Princes for many hundred years after *Constantines* time, did not think it meet to prevent such Schisms by depriving the People or Presbyters of their Electing-power (much less of *Consent.*) 3. That the Cure must not be by altering Christ's institution, and the Churches practice continued 600, if not 800 years, and with most or many to this day; nor by overthrowing the very Constitution of Churches, and the Law of Nature it self; nor by introducing a greater evil; as it would be to teach all people to receive all and only such Pastors as Princes every where shall set over them, and all Ministers of Christ to cease their Office when men forbid it them.

LVIII. Obj. 4. *But if Ministers themselves must be judges, whether a Magistrate do justly silence them, then none will take themselves to be silenced justly; and so all Hereticks will Preach on. It is the Rulers that must judge.*

Ans.

Anſ. 1. when we hear, and read, how the Papiſts deceive the ignorant, by repeating the queſtion, *who muſt be the judge*, it grieveth us to find ſome Proteſtants ſo unskilful in anſwering it, when the anſwer is ſo eaſy, that when opened we hope few ſober Proteſtants differ in it. Judgement is *Publik* or *Private*: Publik Judgement is either Antecedent by a *Lawgiver* judging what ſhall be *commanded* and made the *ſubjects duty*; *or conſequent* by a *Judge ſo ſtrictly* called, Judging of *Titles*, and *Crimes* (in order to puniſhment) according to law; *Private Judgement* is either by *Arbitrators*, or *private Cenſurers*, or by *every mans Conſcience diſcerning* and *judging* what is his duty, and what is ſin.

1. The *Sovereign* of the *World*, is the only Judge, by *Legiſlation* what ſhall be the *duty of all mankind*, by the Law which he maketh to bind high and low, which none may alter or ſuſpend. 2 And he is the only *fountain* of *Power* to his *Creatures*. 3. And he is the only *final*, *abſolute*, *infallible judge*.

2. The Sovereigns of Kingdoms and Common wealths, and maſters in their families, are *judges antecedently* what ſhall be their Subjects duty, by their Laws ſubſervient to Gods: And they and their Officers receiving power from them are the Judges *Conſequently*, by *Deciſion*, who ſhall be puniſhed as *Criminal* and who not, and who ſhall be protected in his propriety or eſtate, by the ſword of Iuſtice.

3. The true Biſhops or Paſtors of the Church, are Guides to the people according to *Chriſts Laws*, in the matters of their Office, and *deciſive Judges*, *who ſhall be taken in, or put out of Com-*

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munion, in the respective Churches.

4. Every *mans Conscience* is that *Private discerning Judge* of his *own Duty* and *sin.* (Of *Arbitrators* or *Censurers* we need not speak.)

This all of us are agreed in: And the question [*who shall Judge*] is still urged by some, as if they thought that some man or men must needs in all cases (of Religion) be taken for such *Absolute Judges* that what ever they Judge, all subjects must obey it. And on this pernicious supposition is built the Popes pretended Infallibility, because they think that religion is fallible (that is, *Gods Law*) if *the judge* (that is an *iguorant man, or men*) be fallible.

But all Protestants (at least) are agreed, that all *men* are *Gods subjects*; and that all humane Power of Legislation, Judgement and execution is limited; and that no man may judge against God or his Laws: And that men should *know* Gods Laws, and justifie them and judge by them, and condemn all that is against them; But no man hath power to condemn or contradict Gods Law it self. No man hath power to judge that there is no God, no Life to come, no Christ, or that one word of God is false, or to forbid one thing which God commandeth, or command one thing which God forbiddeth, no man hath power to judge that souls shall be deprived of such needful Teaching and Sacraments, and publick worshiping of God, as God hath provided, and commanded them to use; Nor to forbid Christs faithful Ministers causelesly to Preach his word, and worship him in the Churches, and administer his Sacraments; Nor causelesly to silence, or *punish* them for so doing: Therefore in this case

our

our consciences would not be bound though still we profess that Gods Law bindeth us not to rebel, or take up arms against their injuries, but patiently to bear them, and pray for our persecutors.

LIX. Obj. *You say that Rulers may not causelesly silence or punish such: But still they are judges whether there be cause.*

Ans. They are so: For it is about their proper work. But they are Judges subject to God, to whom they shall answer it if they disobey him. And the subjects are *private discerning Judges*, whether the Laws of men contradict Gods Laws so far as concerneth their obeying or not obeying them.

We must still repeat, that the *esse* is before the *scire*; and the *Being* of the case and *Truth*, before the *judging* of it: either the *Preacher* deserveth *Silencing* or not, before you come to judge the case: If he *ought* to be silent the *Rulers* ought to *judge* so, and do well: If *not*, but he be *innocent*, or one that ought not to be forbidden his Office, no man hath power from God to judge contrary and causelesly to forbid him; And his conscience is not formerly bound by that prohibition; Though he must still keep his Loyalty and subjection, and his care of the publick peace and welfare.

LX. We conclude again, that seeing we meet with none that will say that Rulers may *judge* that *we shall not worship God*, or that the *Gospel shall not be preached*, or that *men must obediently forsake Christ*, or go to Hell; Nor with any Christian that will say that *without faith and holiness we may be saved*, we dread the conse-

quence of such arguing, as taketh this up as the last defence, that [*those people* that visibly live in Sensuality, Drunkenness, Fornication, Coveteousness, *Pride, Ungodlyness* or *Gross Ignorance*, are indeed in a safe condition for salvation, and therefore that Preaching which should bring them to repentance is not necessary; But that its safer to continue Ignorant and ungodly, than to joyn with the Religious for fear of Schism: For we cannot deny that they that have no other Medium to defend their Assertion, that [*the lifeless unskilful Ministry of Novices, which maketh very few seriously Religious, doth more good than the contrary, which hath contrary success, if it be by men forbidden*] do too plainly perswade us from our Christianity it self, that is, from the chiefest evidence of its truth and glory: For if there were no better Christians in the world, than such unholy persons before described; and if Christ had not a holy peculiar people, of heavenly minds and lives, and zealous of good works, we could never prove (or believe) him to be the Christ that came to save his people from their sins. He is not the Physician whom we can trust, that doth not cure men. And if they will resolve the case into the question *of fact, whether such different Ministers have usually different success?* and *serious Christianity* be not much more rare under *Reading Novices*, and *unexperienced lifeless men*, than under *skilful serious godly Pastors*, we are unable to doubt of it, against all experience.

LXI. Obj. 5. *But if every man that is proud and heretical may set up as a Preacher when he will, and when any people will chuse him, Religion*

gion will be corrupted, and the Church confounded.

Answ. True; therefore that must not be: 1. There are some previous qualifications so essentially necessary to the Ministry, that without them no man is owned as his Minister by Christ, nor should be by men. 2. The *Ordainers* are to be Judges whether men have these qualifications. 3. The people are discerning Judges which *qualified ordained* man (or to be ordained) is *meet for them*; so far as it is necessary to *their mutual Consent*. 4. If a Heretick or other intollerable person must set up a Preacher; or if any turn Heretick, the Orthodox Churches are (after due admonition) to renounce him as unacceptable of their communion; that he may be shamed and avoided.. 5. If yet he continue obstinate, and do more harm than good, the Magistrate is Ruler, and must restrain him, and deny him leave so to Preach in his Dominions; so he do it not by penalties unsuitable to the offence: (Dis-franchising, discountenancing and shame, do usually more against Heresies than cruelties.) But *Necessary Faithful Teachers* may not on these pretences be cast out.

LXII. 18 If the People conscious of their great Necessity of Pastoral over-sight and help, and of Christ's command to use it, do live in a Parish or Countrey where they cannot have it from those that the Magistrate alloweth, either because they *cannot* perform it for them, or because they *will not*; it is no Schism for such to seek and use it, from worthy though prohibited men.

We before spake of the Schisms of *Teachers*, and now of *Hearers*. In this case men may just-

ly thus argue: [*Our Neceſſity requireth Paſtoral overſight, and Chriſt commandeth us to uſe it, when we may have it: But from this publick Miniſter we cannot have it: Therefore we muſt ſeek it where we can.* That moſt men have *need* of Paſtoral overſight, is certain; elſe Chriſt would not have inſtituted it for them: And every man ſhould be conſcious of his own need.

That Chriſt hath commanded us the uſe of it is certain; 1. In all thoſe Texts which command the Paſtors their general and particular duties to the People, to Preach and be inſtant in ſeaſon and out, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, to comfort the feeble minded, to viſit the ſick, to convince the erroneous, to adminiſter the Sacraments, to pray and worſhip God publickly with them, &c. 2. In all thoſe Texts that command the People to hear, ſubmit to, obey, and imitate ſuch Guides, and uſe ſuch Ordinances. In ſeveral caſes the People may poſſibly be deprived of this at home, as from the allowed Miniſter: 1. When publick Paſtors are at ſo great a diſtance from them, as that ſuch Paſtors cannot come to them, nor they and their families go ſo far, without ſuch inconvenience and trouble, as will fruſtrate the end of their endeavours: As in *France* where the Proteſtants muſt go twenty miles, or ten, to a Church; which the weak, children and aged cannot do, nor the reſt of the family without ſuch coſt and pains, and loſs of time as will deprive them of the benefit.

Obj. *But yet the Proteſtants there do not ſet up unlicenſed Churches.*

Anſ. That is not as an act of formal *obedience*, as if they took it to be unlawful becauſe prohi-

bited;

bited; but in *prudence*, becauſe the perſecution, ſhould they do it, would fruſtrate their attempt: In ſuch caſes the old Chriſtians met in ſecret.

2. Where Pariſhes are ſo great that the allowed Paſtors *cannot* Preach to *half* or a *fourth* or *tenth* part of the people; and cannot viſit half the ſick, and Baptize, and adminiſter the Lords Supper as is neceſſary; And have no t *time*, if the ignorant, and doubting, and troubled perſons ſhould come to them for Counſel, reſolution or comfort, to ſpeak duely to one of twenty of them. In a Pariſh of 50000 or 30000, or 20000 or 15000 or 10000 ſoules, how few is it that one or two Miniſters can perform all the Offices to, publick and private which the Goſpel requireth Paſtors to perform.

3. Where the allowed Paſtors are ſo ſlothful or proud that they will not condeſcend to theſe Offices, of Perſonal help to many thouſands eſpecially of the poor.

4. Where they are young raw men, or ignorant of ſuch matters, unable to counſel people as their neceſſities require, in order to their ſalvation; and perhaps to do it tolerably in a publick Sermon.

5. Where they are ſo prophane and malignant, that if poor people come to them with caſes of conſcience, or for counſel what they muſt do to be ſaved, they will but deride them as ſcrupulous and preciſe, and make them believe that to be ſolicitous about ſalvation, and afraid of ſinning, and ſeriouſly godly, is but to be Hypocrites, melancholy or mad; And perhaps bend their Preaching the ſame way.

6. When they are Heretical and not to be truſted in point of faith.

7. And when they are so Factious and Schismatical, as that their Preaching and Conference tendeth to render other good Christians odious, and stir up men to hate, persecute, or separate from them, and so to destroy true Love and Concord.

In any of these cases when the people or part of them are deprived of that Pastoral helps which their necessity requireth, and God commandeth, they may seek it where they can best have it.

LXIII. In all these cases it is an unsatisfactory Answer to tell them that *Religion is kept up in the land*, and that *other persons* or *Parishes have what they want*, or that Order and Obedience must be preferred to their supply, or that God can save them without a Pastor, &c. For so *God can save* the Heathen world without the Gospel Preached if he please: And so you might perswade the Poor to famish, rather than against Law to beg; because if thousands of them dye of Famine, yet *other people* are supplied, and have plenty: Or you might tell men that they must use no Physician, though *they* dye for it, if they have no tolerable one allowed them by the Magistrate, because *others* have Physicians though *they* dye for want of them.

What if the Parish Priest could Baptize but one of many (or not all:) Must the rest be content to be unbaptized? If not, why must they be content without all publick Preaching and Worshipping of God, and the Lords Supper, and personal helps of Pastors which they need? *Paul* thanketh God that he Baptized none of the *Corinthians* save some few, and saith, that *God sent*

ſent him not to Baptize, but to Preach the Goſpel. And can any man prove then, That if the Pariſh Miniſter cannot or will not Baptize his Children he muſt get another to do it, yea a prohibited Miniſter rather then they ſhould be unbaptized; and yet that if the Pariſh Church cannot receive him, or the Paſtor cannot or will not do the Office of a Paſtor for him, he muſt be without Preaching, Worſhipping God, and Paſtoral overſight?

LXIV. Yet here we muſt declare 1. That in ſuch neceſſity people muſt *cæteris paribus*, firſt ſeek their ſupply in that way that is moſt for peace, and moſt for publick good, and leaſt ſcandalous or dividing, and that is moſt agreable to the Rulers will and honour.

2. That for ſome ſhort ſeaſon in which his ſoul is not apparently hazarded; as alſo in the tolerable loſs, of ſome meaſures of Paſtoral help, a man muſt ſubmit his own perſonal advantage to publick intereſt. and may hope that God will make it up. As alſo when it tendeth to his probable greater advantage afterward, by putting by ſome preſent ſtorm: But not ſtatedly, to be without Chriſts inſtituted ordinances and helps; *e. g.* Pariſh Order is deſireable and is the Rulers will: If therefore ſupply can be had in a neighbour Pariſh for them that want it in their own, and by an allowed Miniſter rather than a diſallowed, it ſhould be choſen, unleſs the diſparity be ſo great as to weigh down the contrary inconveniences. And if for a time any be conſtrained to another way, they ſhould do it but as an extroardinary neceſſity for the preſent time, till they can be ſupplied in the allowed Parochial way; and avoid as much as poſſibly

they can all waies, though lawful, that encourage true Schisms.

3. And we must profess, that if any Preachers or people, shall out of self conceitedness, pretend *necessity* when there is none, their pretence is no justification of their disorder or disobedience. Magistrates may regulate us in the *Circumstances* of those duties, which the Law of *Nature* or the Gospel do Command: But if on such pretence of regulating *Circumstances*, they will violate or contradict either the Law of *Nature*, or the Gospel, and *destroy the duty* it self, or *its end*, we are not bound in such cases to obey them, but must patiently suffer.

LXV. 19. If the Church Laws do exclude those *Christians* that *have* right, from the *Communion of the Church*, and their Children from *Baptism*, and do decree that they shall be *excommunicate*, and then laid *in Gaols*, it seemeth to us no Schism in those persons, to have no such Communion with that Church which is denyed them by the Laws of the Church; Nor yet to join themselves with another Church that will receive them. And as we say of the *Papists*, that they unjustly call those men *Schismaticks*, whom they first cast out themselves by unjust excommunication, so may we of any others; Especially when either for that which is a duty, or for some small mistake which it is not in the persons power to rectifie, no greater than most good Christians are guilty of, the Church Law saith that he shall be *excommunicate ipso facto*, by which he is cast out antecedently to any sentence, or no place left for his pardon or forbearance by the favour of the Ordinary. He that is so cast out,

out, is not the wilful Separatist: Nor is he bound to continue without Church Communion, and Pastoral oversight.

LXVI. 20. If those that live in a Parish where the Incumbent by utter Insufficiency, Heresie, Usurpation, Malignity or Wickedness, is such as men may not lawfully own, or commit the Pastoral Conduct and care of their souls to, shall desire the Pastoral care of the next Parish-Minister, and communion in that Parish-Church, and may not be admitted, but all other Parish-Ministers are by *Canon commanded to refuse them, and to turn them home to their own Parish-Priests and Churches,* so that they must either commit their souls to such uncapable persons, and own them as Christ's Ministers, or have none at all, we dare not charge those persons with Schism, if they commit the care of their souls to worthy ordained men, though not allowed but prohibited by the Magistrate: For the reasons before given. Yea if they know that *Church-Laws forbid all other Parish-Priests to receive them,* we see not that they are first bound to *offer themselves* to such as profess obedience to those Laws.

Obj. 1. *But some take a meer Reader for uncapable that cannot preach, or one that cannot pray without Book, or a young man that is not able to resolve doubts, or cases of conscience: but our Canon* 57. saith, *that the Sacraments are equally effectual, whether they be administred by a Preacher or no Preacher.*

Ans. 1. By an *uncapable person* we mean such as is *utterly unable* to peform the *Pastoral duties* which Christ hath commanded, and mens souls greatly need (which among others Dr. *Hammond*

Hammond in his Annotat. hath well described.) If bare Reading were sufficient Ability, every Boy or Artificer were sufficient that can read. *Bare Reading* will encourage no man to take any one for his *Physician*, or *Lawyer*; and soul-conduct is a matter of greater importance, and needeth as much skill and honesty.

2. It is not the *validity of the Sacrament* that is all that is to be looked at: *Quod factum valet sæpe fieri non debuit*. Men must avoid *sin* as well as *Nullities* in Sacraments: We take it to be a sin to own a man as Christ's Minister who is none, through utter incapacity: Yet we know that Reading is a sort of Preaching, and that all Presbyters, where one Church had many, did not publickly and constantly Preach in the antient Churches: But they were godly men capable of other Ministerial Offices to the People, to pray, counsel and direct them, which must be regarded as well as Sacraments. He that can administer a Sacrament that's valid, may be unfit for men to take for their Pastors or Guides.

3. There is a double work of Sacraments to which they may be called *Effectual*: one is *God's own collation of our Covenant-right to the promised Benefits, viz. Pardon* and *Salvation*: To this we believe that the Sacrament is *effectual* to meet receivers, when it is so delivered as to be no Nullity; and so many heretofore thought that Baptism delivered by a Lay-man is effectual, that is, not Null, but investeth the person in his Covenant Relation; and yet that it is unlawful for a Lay-man to administer it, or others to desire it of him: The other work of the Sacrament is *on the Peoples hearts*, to which the manner

ner of administring much contributeth, as experience proveth.

Obj. *But Sacraments operate not as Lawyers and Physicians do by the skill of the Minister, but by God's grace and blessing.*

Ans. 1. But God's grace useth to work according to the aptitude of means morally, as constant experience proveth: And the word which is used in the Sacramental administration, must be regarded, and so must other waies of teaching as well as by Sacraments. 2. And we cannot expect God's blessing in a way of sin, when we own one for our Pastor whom we ought not.

Obj. *But some take a man to be uncapable if he be but a sinner worse than ordinary, as a drunkard, fornicator, swearer, perjured, a scorner at diligence in Religion, &c. whereas the Ministers sin depriveth not the people of the benefit of God's Ordinances.*

Ans. 1. He that not knowing the Minister to be such a one, or by true necessity useth such a one, yea or by ignorance thinketh that he should not avoid him, if he be himself a true Believer, may have God's Covenant sealed to him by the Sacrament, which such a one delivereth: Yea, by an Usurper or meer Lay-man that is in possession, and mistaken for a Minister: If a man forge his Orders, or intrude uncalled, or be an obtruded usurping Bishop, the people cannot alwaies detect it: Nor do they lose their right to God's Sacraments, because the man hath (unknown to them) no right to administer them: But if they know such an one, they should not own him as a Minister of Christ, so far as to trust

their

their ſouls with him as their Paſtor, (at leaſt when they may have a better.) And he that ſo withdraweth himſelf from the communion of notorious wicked Paſtors whom he hath no power to caſt out, not ſeparating cauſleſly from others or the Church-ſtate, ſeemeth to us to have all the following reaſons to excuſe him from the guilt of Schiſm.

1. God hath commanded his ſervants to beware of falſe or pretended Prophets, and told us how to know them, by the hurtful fruits of thorns and thiſtles: And *Paul* adviſeth the *Galatians*, *Coloſſians*, *&c.* earneſtly to beware of unſound Teachers; and the Churches that had thoſe that taught people to eat things offered to Idols, &c. are threatned: And God commendeth thoſe that tryed falſe Apoſtles, and found them Lyars: Therefore the people in ſuch caſes as thoſe have a trying judgment, in order to their practice. And *Paul* warneth the *Romans* to mark thoſe that cauſe diviſions and *offences* (or ſcandals) and avoid them as not ſerving Jeſus Chriſt but their bellies; and the forenamed crimes are *ſcandals*.

2. God hath commanded men to know, love, and imitate godly Paſtors, *Heb.* 13. 7, 17. 24. 1 *Theſ.* 5 12, 13. 1 *Tim* 5. 17, &c. And he hath given no man power to ſet ſuch criminals over them as their Paſtors, and ſo far to deprive them of the means of ſalvation as to confine them to them.

3. Though the Apoſtles charge [*with ſuch no not to eat*] enable not private men to exerciſe Governing diſcipline on bad Paſtors, it ſeemeth to us to bind them, when the caſe is notorious, to diſown them.

4. *Cyprians*

4. *Cyprians* concluſion before mentioned is known, inviting the *people* to forſake a bad Paſtor, *Plebs maximam habet poteſtatem* &c. And he convinceth the people that if they forſake not ſuch they are guilty.

5. The Chriſtian Churches have formerly practiſed it.

6. The Law or Canon forbiddeth it to no man in *England*, to deſert men, ſobeit they will but remove their dwelling into another Pariſh. Which is an extrinſick Circumſtance of humane order.

7. Even Pope *Nicolas* in his Decretals, ſaith, that [*Prieſts that commit fornication, cannot have the honour* of *Prieſthood*. Yea [*Let no man hear Maſs of a Prieſt whom he certainly knoweth to have a Concubine or woman introduced*] and we hope we may be herein as clean as *Papiſts*. Yea of Popes he ſaith [*He that by money, or the favour of men*, or *Popular*, or *Military tumults, is intruded into* the *Apoſtolical ſeat, without the Concordant and Canonical Election of the Cardinals, and the following religious Clergie, let him not be taken for a Pope* or *Apoſtolical*, but *Apoſtatical*] *Caran.* 2. *p.* 393. 395.

8. *Gildas* ſaith of the Britiſh wicked Prieſts, that they were *Traytors* and not *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, and that he was not *Eximius Chriſtianus*, that would call them *Miniſters*.

9. *Iſidore Peluſiota* in many Epiſtles to *Zoſimus*, and other wicked Prieſts, hath much to the like purpoſe.

10. St. *Martin*, would not come to the ſynods of the Biſhops about him, nor Communicate with them at all, becauſe they were ſome of them

them, rash, bad men, and had instigated *Maximus* to subdue the *Priscillian Gnosticks* by the Sword, and thereby brought Religious people that were strict, into suspicion of *Priscillianism*; but especially he holding that Heresie was not to be so punished: And when to save some mens lives, he yielded to *Maximus* once to Communicate with the Bishops, an Angel in his way corrected him, and his working of Miracles was diminished by it, and he forbore their Communion after to the death. Either this history is true or not: If not, when it is written by his own Disciple and acquaintance, *Sulpitius Severus* and one of the most Godly and Learned of all the ancient Historians, and by others; and when *Martin* is Canonized for one of the greatest Saints upon supposition that the History of his Life and Miracles is true, what Church history (even that for Bishops) can we then believe? But if it be true, then one of the holiest workers of Miracles since the Apostles, hath assured us, that his separation from communion with these Bishops (though cruel to Hereticks, so gross) was confirmed by vision, and by an Angel from Heaven, and he forbidden their communion for the time to come. We again mention this, as not yet having heard any answer to it.

11. Our own Canons forbid the people to communicate with Ministers for lesser faults (as private Preaching, Sacraments, Fasts, Conventicles, or out of their own Parishes, &c.

12. *Moses* the Monk aforementioned, is commended by Historians, because he would not be ordained by *Lucius*; not because erroneous, but because

becauſe he had perſecuted others by the countenance of *Valens* the Emperour: Though his perſecution extended not to the ſilencing of thouſands, or hundreds, or very many that we read of: And as is aforeſaid, he choſe to be ordained by baniſhed men.

13. Eſpecially if men have no obligation to that inſufficient, heretical, or ungodly Prieſt, but *humane*, becauſe a *Patron* preſented him, or a *Magiſtrate impoſed* him, or becauſe *Pariſh-order* (which is a humane thing of meer convenience) will elſe ſeem violated: When as the avoiding of the *danger* of a *falſe Paſtor*, and the guilt of his ſin, which by owning him may be incurred, and eſcaping the great loſs of a *faithful Paſtor*'s guidance, when we are conſcious that we greatly need it, are things of greater importance, and of Moral and Evangelical Divine obligation: In this caſe we cannot prove it Schiſm to avoid a wicked Prieſt: The Biſhops hold it a duty to avoid a Nonconformiſt that hath not their Licenſe: But ſuch a one as is foredeſcribed, hath not *Chriſt's Licenſe*, and is a Nonconformiſt to his Laws.

Again, let it be noted 1. That even under the Jewiſh Law, Magiſtrates were not the chuſers of the Prieſts, but God choſe them by ſetling the Prieſthood on one line. 2. That Chriſt hath by his Spirit in the Apoſtles altered the Prieſthood, and the way of their calling and entrance under the Goſpel. 3. That the Church neer a thouſand years was in poſſeſſion of that way, and many hundred of thoſe years the poſſeſſion was univerſal in all the Churches. 4. That the chuſing of Biſhops or Prieſts by Magiſtrates or Lay-Patrons

Patrons was none of that way which Christ appointed. Therefore seeing it is not the *chusing* or *making*, but the *Governing* of Bishops or Priests that is committed to Princes, and *Christ's Law* is the first by which *they must govern*, it seemeth to us that they cannot oblige the Subjects to take up with wicked Pastors, when better are prohibited, and are to be had.

LXVII. 21. In those times and Countries where the allowed Bishops are corrupted by ignorance, heresie, ungodliness or faction, and set themselves to bring in an unconscionable corrupt sort of Ministers into the Churches, and will not ordain fit and conscionable men, or by snares divide the Churches, and cast out the most worthy; and impose sinful conditions on all whom they will ordain, it seemeth to us to be no Schism to seek ordination from other Bishops, and in case of necessity at least, to be ordained by such Presbyters as are either the sole, or chief, or equal Pastors in Parochial Churches, (especially in Cities) and to perform the Office of Presbyters without such Bishops consent. We here suppose such Bishops had themselves been duely elected and ordained, yet 1. They have their power to edification, and not to destruction. 2. We are more obliged to Christ's interest, and the Churches safety, than to them. God will have mercy, rather than Sacrifice, and preferreth mens salvation to ceremony or Church Laws. 3. So the Orthodox forsook the Arrian and other wicked Bishops: Malignity and wickedness is poison in the Clergy as well as Heresie and Schism: So as is aforesaid, *Moses* and *Martin* disowned the bad Bishops that were neer them;

for

Turn 3 leaves forward.

the Nonconformists are considering to help others to apply it without mistake, as they shall see cause.

We intend not, in this, the determination of the points in matter of right; nor do we here tell men (unless on the by in the stating of some few questions,) what it is that we account good or evil, much less do we here give the proofs or reasons of our Cause: That is the thing for which we greatly desire the allowance of our Superiours; But must not unnecessarily presume to do it, lest we displease them; though we hear that some of them take us as not sincere, for keeping up a difference, and giving no more reasons of it: The thing which we so greatly desire leave to do, but dare not be so bold yet as to venture by it to displease them, who condemn us for not doing it, lest their anger would be sharper to us if we do it: so great is our difficulty between this *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

But we hope we may adventure to open some part of the *Matter of Fact*, which Conformity and Nonconformity are concerned in, that so men may *conjecture* at the Case themselves; which will be no reflexion on the Government (barely to tell what they command,) nor a challenging any of our Superiours to a disputation, nor a charging them as faulty that cannot bear it.

1. *Matters of Fact to be foreknown, to the true understanding of the Cause.*

1. THE root of the difference between the *Old Nonconformists* and the *Conformists*, was that one sort thought they should stick to the meer Scripture Rule and simplicity, and go far from all additions which were found invented or abused by the Papists, in Doctrine, Worship and Government; and the other side thought that they should shew more reverence to the customs of the ancient Church, and retain that which was not forbidden in the Scripture, which was introduced before the ripeness of the Papacy, or before the year 600 at least, and which was found lawful in the *Roman* Church, and common to them with the *Greek*, that we might not seem singular, odd and humorous, or to go further from the Papists than reason and necessity drave us. And the Laity seemed no where so sensible of the difference, as between the way of *Ceremony*, and *unceremonious simplicity*, and the way of our many short Liturgick Prayers and Offices, and the way of *free-praying* from the present sense and habits of the speaker; while pacificators thought both seasonably good.

2. The sad eruption of this difference among the Exiles at *Frankford* while Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Horn* and their party, strove for the English Liturgie, and the other party strove against it for the freer way, is at large reported in a book called *the troubles at Frankford.*

3. Queen

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ſtill thus confound the *ſcire* and the *eſſe*, or put the *ſcire* before the *eſſe*, they may go on in errour, and no reaſon can ſilence them. The thing is realy firſt *true* or *falſe*, before it is *known* or *thought* ſo to be; If it be *true*, then he that thinketh it falſe is the delinquent. If it *be a ſin*, it is not mens taking it for no ſin, that will make it ſo, nor diſoblige the orthodox from their Miniſtry. But if it *be no ſin* that is Commanded the *Nonconſenters* are in the fault. And if it be a Hereſie which *they ſtand for*, may be ſilenced.

And yet we will not deny, but if the generality of the Miniſtry obtain their liberty by ſome ſmall tollerable ſin or errour, and the ſounder part be *few and unneceſſary* in that Country, *Prudence* obligeth them to go to ſome other place that needeth them, and never to excerciſe their Miniſtry where in true reaſon it is like to do more hurt than good.

LXIX. 25. Where under any of the foreſaid unjuſt prohibitions the ſilenced Miniſters and people ſhall gather no diſtinct Churches, but only *Auditories* or *Chappels* as *parts* of the *Pariſh Churches*, and that only where there is (through the bigneſs of the Pariſh, or diſtance from the Pariſh Church, or paucity, or inſufficiency, or unfaithfulneſs of Pariſh Prieſts a *true neceſſity*, not *unchurching* or ſeparating from the Pariſh Church, but owning it, and holding Communion with it, and promoting the reputation of the true Pariſh Miniſter and Communion, and perſwading others to the like, we cannot ſee that this is any Schiſm; but rather their practiſe who fire and divide mens minds by envious clamours againſt the innocent, and proudly calling others Schiſmaticks.

LXX. 26. We have greatly lamented the true Schismatical disposition of some religiously affected persons, who make their singularities or little differences, the occasions of unchristening, *unchurching* or *degrading* those that are wiser than themselves, and running away from one another on pretence of discipline, and avoiding sin. But yet we hold that gentle forbearing tolerable differences, even in distinct Churches, guilty of Schism, so they be kept from unpeaceable reviling of others, is a meeter way to avoid the mischiefs, than with prison, sword or fire to exasperate them. It is noted that *Nestorius* the Heretick was the first sharp persecutor of the *Novatians*: But most of the better Bishops tolerated them, as did the Emperours: And two prudent gentle Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Atticus* and *Proclus*, reduced the *Joannites*, and lenified other divided Parties, which the fiercer men had made and kept up by their violence.

SECT. VII.

Some Matters of Fact preparatory to the true Application of what is before laid down.

WE must crave that justice of the Reader as to note, that hitherto we have spoken but of the *Doctrinal part* about Schism, not applying it to *England* or any others: Nor shall we now any otherwise apply it, than to lay down some little part of the *Matters of Fact*, which the

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pleaſeth, and to deny God all Publick Worſhip; and we muſt ask leave of Rulers that Chriſt may be Chriſt, and ſouls may be ſaved; as if the Keys of Heaven and Hell were theirs. None that we write for, Proteſtants or Papiſts, will aſſert this.

But if *All* muſt not lay down their Miniſtry, why muſt a *thouſand* or *two thouſand* do it rather than all the reſt? We ſuppoſe it will be ſaid, that *if a thouſand ſhould refuſe Conformity, all might continue their forbidden Miniſtry; but if two thouſand only of ten thouſand ſhould deny Conformity, theſe two thouſand muſt lay down, becauſe the reſt are a competent ſupply to the Churches.*

Anſw. But theſe be but unproved words. 1. How ſhall we be ſure that other mens ſinning will abſolve the two thouſand innocent from their duty? If in the *firſt Inſtant* it be confeſſedly the equal duty of all, how will the weakneſs and ſin of one part change the obligation of all the reſt? 2. If the Churches be ſomehow ſupplied by mens ſin, will it follow that truth and righteouſneſs in ſounder blameleſs men will not *mend* their ſupply? but muſt be caſt out by others ſin? 3. And where can the wit of man ever ſet bounds to ſuch power of ſinners? It will here be granted us, that if the moſt in *France* conform to Popery, it will not diſoblige all others from the exerciſe of their Miniſtry: And who then can ſay, what thoſe untruths and ſins are which a weak and erring Miniſtry may be guilty of, which ſhall ſerve to diſoblige the reſt? No man here can ſet us any certain meaſure. 4. Would it have an honeſt ſound if it ſhould be ſaid to the people, *The greater part* of the

Ministers by sin (yea gross deliberate sin unrepented of) have procured the liberty of their Ministry; and *they* are *enow for you*, and therefore you must hear none of those that refused so to sin, and are cast out, *e. g.* suppose it were the subscribing of the *Covenant against Prelacy* that were made the Condition of our Preaching here by Law: Or subscribing to the *Divine Right* of unordained *Elders* and their power in Presbyterian Classes: If most of the Ministers take that Covenant, doth that prove that all the rest if forbidden to Preach must be silent? This were an easie way to introduce any Errour, by forbidding any but the defenders of it to Preach? If *Julian* might not thus have put down the Gospel, nor *Valens* have put down the *Homoousians* (as they called the Orthodox,) nor the Papists so put down the Protestants, why may *Calvinists* or *Lutherans* so put down one another? As if I were bound to be a Minister only till other men will sin!

Obj. *But suppose that the sin be on the silenced Ministers part, and the other be in the truth.*

Ans. 1. Then the silenced Ministers are not guiltless of the Schism. 2. But if it *be so*, if their errour be in a *small* and *difficult* matter, not deserving silencing (as theirs *Rom.* 15. about meats and daies &c) it may be far *greater Schism* in the *silencers*, then in them.

Obj. *But suppose it a doubtful case, and one party take consenting to be a sin, and the other part and the greater take it to be none, If you may preach on because you think that you are in the right, then no Heretick should be silenced.*

Ans. This was answered before 1. If men will still

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so the Protestants disowned the Papist Bishops; And *Bugenhagius Pomeranus* a Presbyter reformed and ordained Bishops in *Denmark*. Bishop Vsher himself told one of us, that being asked by his Sovereign whether he found that ever Presbyters ordained Presbyters? he answered, *I can shew your Majesty more, even where Presbyters made Bishops*, citing the *Alexandrian* custom out of *Jerom* to *Evagrius*. The Judgment of *English* Bishops and Divines for the validity of such Ordination by Presbyters, and of the Ordination in the Reformed Churches abroad, some of us have proved heretofore at large. 4. Christ having made a Law which conferreth the Pastoral Power on him that is made a due Receiver (as the King's Charter doth the Power of the Lord Mayor on him that is duly chosen to it) it followeth that no more is absolutely necessary to such reception of that Power, but that the person be duly qualified, and have *consent* and *opportunity*, and the best investiture which the time and place will afford: Of which *Voetius de desperata causa Papatus*, and one of us in a *Dispute of Ordination*, have long ago said that which we suppose will never be well answered. 5. And *Grotius de Imperio summ. Potest. circa Sacra* (an excellent Book) hath shewed, that he that is the *sole Pastor* of a Church, is in effect a Bishop. And indeed Dr. *Hammond* (as is said) in his *Differ.* and *Annotations* asserteth *de facto*, that in Scriptures one Bishop without any Presbyter under him was setled in each Church; so that every Pastor of a particular Church then was a Bishop (as far as can be proved:) And if that was the Apostolical institution that every Church have a

Bishop, and that there was no *sole Pastor* (at least) but Bishops, then he that is ordained the Pastor, (at least sole or chief) of a particular Church is ordained a Bishop: The reason is, because his Office and Power followeth the *Law and Charter of Christ* that made it, and not of the *investing Ministerial Ordainer* if he would alter it, or pronounce it otherwise.

LXVI. 22. Not to obey Lay-Chancellours where they govern the Church by the power of the Keys, decreeing Excommunications and Absolutions, and performing the work of Exploration and Admonition belonging to Bishops in order thereto, we take to be no Schism; nor to refuse subscribing or swearing to such a Government.

LXVII. 23. Not sacrilegiously to desert the sacred Ministry when vowed and consecrated thereto, is no Schism.

LXVIII. 24. Where such sins are made the *Condition* of Ministration by men in power, as that *all the whole Ministry of a Kingdom* are bound in conscience to deny consent and conformity thereto, it is the duty of *all the Ministry in primo instante*, to forbear their Ministerial Office or *none*; for the reason is the same to all: For example; If ten or twenty untrue or unrighteous forbidden things, must be subscribed, declared, covenanted, or sworn, or as many sins practised; yea were it but one, no doubt but the whole Ministry is bound to deny Conformity to any one such thing. Now if *all these* must forbear or lay down their Office, because forbidden by men to exercise it, then it is in the power of a Prince to cast out Christianity when he pleaseth,

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15. When the Parliament's Armies were worſted and weakened by the King, and they found themſelves in danger of being overcome, they intreated help from the Scots, who taking the advantage of their ſtraits, brought in the Covenant as the Condition of their help; which the Parliament rather accepted than they would loſe them, which at firſt was impoſed on none by force: But (to paſs by all other Conſiderations) was judged by many wiſe men, to be an occaſion of diviſion, as making the oppoſition to *Prelacy*, to be the terms of the Kingdoms Unity and Concord, when they might know that the King and a great, if not the greateſt part of the Kingdom, were of the contrary mind, and ſo it was thought to be (as the Papal terms of Unity) a means of unavoidable diviſion: But others thought that becauſe it tied them to no endeavours, but in their Places and Callings, they might take it.

16. The Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* were men that had lived in Conformity, except about eight or nine of them and the Scots: But being ſuch as thought Conformity lawful in caſe of deprivation, but the things impoſed to be a ſnare, which ſhould be removed if it could be lawfully done, they alſo received the Covenant, but were divided about the ſenſe of the word [*Prelacy*,] many profeſſing their Judgment to be for Moderate Epiſcopacy; whereupon the deſcribing additions [*Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons*] were added. And upon ſuch a Profeſſion that it diſclaimed not all Epiſcopacy, Mr. *Coleman* is ſaid to have given the Covenant to the Houſe of Lords. And they complained of the

Parliament which tied them to meddle with nothing but what they offered to them.

17. This Covenant and Vow was taken by the *Parliament*, and by their Garrisons and *Souldiers* that would volunrarily take it, as a test whom they would trust; the rest being had in suspension: And after the wars; by such as were ordained Ministers, and by the Kings adherents when they made their compositions; so far was it afterward imposed. But many Ministers and Gentlemen refused it, and so did *Cromwel*'s Souldiers, and in many Counties few did take it.

18. How far the Parliament was from being Presbyterians, may partly be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the Earl of *Essex* to the King at *Nottingham*, and partly by their defeating all the desires and endeavours of those that would have Presbytery setled through the Land: We know of no places but *London* and *Lancashire* where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at *Coventry*, and some few such places. And that was only as a tolerated or commended thing, without any imposition that ever we knew of: And accordingly it came to nothing in a short time.

17. Till their new modelling their Army, the Parliament had given out all Commissions to their Souldiers to fight for [*King and Parliament.*] But then the King's name was left out; which seeming to many thousands an utter change of the Cause, from that time many did desert them: And thereupon the Party called Sectaries flowing in to *Cromwel*, and his Army conquering, the power fell into their hands, who imprisoned the King, accused and drove away eleven

Scots, with the other changes there attempted, the designes charged on the Marq. of *Hamilton*, the fear of the Lords losing the Tyths, &c. which Dr. *Heylin* mentioneth as the causes or occasions of their arming there, with the progress thereof, and their entring into *England*, and the advantage thence taken by some English Lords, to advise the King to call a Parliament once and again, and the discontents and proceedings of that Parliament against the two Ministers of the King; for former things with such other matters we had rather the reader took from others, than from us. We are unwilling to be the mentioners of any more than concerneth our present cause, and the things are very commonly known.

9. On the 23. of *October*, 1641. The Irish suddenly rose, and murdered no less than two hundred thousand persons, and *Dublin* narrowly escaped them, of which we refer the Reader to the examinations published by Dr. *Henry Jones*, since a Bishop in *Ireland*, and to the history of Sir *John Temple*, and to the Earl of *Orery*'s Answer to Mr. *Welsh*.

10. The dreadfulness of this Massacre (so far exceeding the French) & the news sent over that the *Irish said that they had the Kings Commission* and the *foregoing jealousies* of the *people* and the *Parliaments Declarations*, raised in multitudes of the people a fear that the Irish when they had ended their work there would come over hither and do the like; and that they had partakers in *England* of whom we were in danger, and that there was no way of safety but to adhere to the Parliament for their own defence, or else it would

would quickly be too late to complain.

11. In 1642. the lamentable Civil Warr brake out: At which time as far as ever we could learn by acquaintance with some of them and report of others, excepting an inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of those that had still lived in conformity to the Church of *England* and the Episcopal Government and were such Conformists as Dr. *Heylin* describeth Archbishop *Abbot* and the Clergy and Parliaments of his times to have been, Crying out of the danger of a new partie, that said they would shake our *Religion, Liberties* and *Property*. And such were they when the War began, Presbytery being then little known among them.

12. Their fear of being overpowred by the party of whom they seemed to think themselves in sudden danger, caused some of them to countenance such Petitionings and clamours of the *Londoners*, Apprentices, and others, as we think disorders and provocation of the King.

13. The first open beginning was about the Militia: And whether the *Lord Lieutenants* whom the Parliament chose, were not *almost all Episcopal Conformists*, we intreat the Reader but to peruse the Catalogue in the ordinance for that Militia, and to ask any that well knew them (as some of us did many of them) and he may certainly be satisfied.

14. The same we say 1. Of the *far greatest part* of the General Officers, Collonels, Lieutenant-Collonels, and Majors of the Earl of *Essex*'s Army. 2. And of the Sea-Captains. 3. And of the Major Generals of *Brigades*, and Counties through the Land. 15. When

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Divines to the Synod of *Dort*, who owned and helpt to form those Articles: And he tells us that Bishop *Laud* had no Bishops on his side but Bishop *Neale*, Bishop *Buckeridge*, Bishop *Corbet*, and Bishop *Howson*, and after Bishop *Mountague*, and thought it not safe to trust his Cause to a Convocation; the major part called then *The Church of England*, 1. Cryed down *Arminianism* as dangerous Doctrine; 2. Cryed down any neerer *approach to the Papists*, and the *Toleration* of them; 3. And were much for the *Law against absoluteness* in the *King*; and Dr. *Heylins* and *Rushworth's* Collect. will tell you the full story of *Manwaring* & *Sibthorp*, and Archbishop *Abbots* refusing to license *Sibthorp's* Book, and the Consequents of all. Thus these two Parties grew into jealousies, the Old Church-men accusing the New on these three accounts, and the New ones striving, as Dr. *Heylin* describeth them, to get into power and overturn the Old.

5. In this contention the Parliaments also involved themselves and the *Majority* still clave to the *Majority of the Bishops and Clergy* (then called *the Church of England*:) And in all or most Parliaments cried up *Religion*, *Law* and *Propriety* and the *Liberty* of *Subjects*, and cried down *Arminianism*, *Monopolies*, *Connivence* and *Favouring* of *Papists*, and *their increase thereby*; expressing by *Speeches*, and *Remonstrances*, their jealousies in all these points, till they were dissolved.

6. The writings of *Bishop Jewel*, and much more *Bishop Bilson*, and most of all Mr. *Richard Hooker*, and such as were of their mind, shew us what Principles there, and then were by the

Laity

Laiety that followed them, received. We will not recite their words, leſt our intent be miſunderſtood; neither *Biſhop Bilſons* inſtances in what caſes Kings may be reſiſted by armes Nor Mr. *Hookers* that maketh Legiſlation the natural right of the Body politick, and governing power to be thence derived, to depend upon the Body, and to returne to it by eſcheats, when heirs fail, and that the *King* is *ſingulis Major* and *univerſis Minor*, &c. (His eighth Book was in print long before Biſhop *Gauden* publiſhed it, who yet vindicateth it to be *Hookers* own.)

7. In 1637, 1638, 1639. A. Biſhop *Land* uſeing more ſeverity againſt diſſenters than had been uſed of late before, and the viſitations more enquiring after *private faſts and meetings* and *going out of mens own Pariſhes to hear*, and ſuch like, and alſo the Book for *ſports on the Lords daies* being neceſſarily to be *read by all* the *Conformable Miniſters* in the Churches, and *Altars, Railes and Bowing* towards them being brought in, and in many places *afternoon Sermons* and *Lectures* put down, the minds of men before filled with the aforementioned jealouſies, were made much more jealous than before. And after the impriſonment of ſome, the ſtigmatizing of ſome, and the removall of many beyond the Seas, and the death of more, the Nonconformable Miniſters were reduced to the paucity before mentioned; but the minds of many people were more alienated from the later ſet of Biſhops, and the old ſort of Conformiſts more jealous of them, and more afraid of Popery, &c. than before.

8. The new Liturgy then impoſed on the *Scots*,

Turne a leaue backward.

3. Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* discountenancing and suppressing the Nonconformists, they attempted in *Northamtonshire* and *Warwickshire* a little while to have set and kept up private Churches and governed them in the Presbyterian way; But that attempt was soon broken and frustrate by the industry of Bishop *Whitguift* and *Bancroft*: And the Nonconformists lived according to their various opportunities: some of them conformed: some were by connivence permitted in peculiars and small impropriate places, or Chappels that had little maintenance, in the publick Ministry, which kept them from gathering secret Churches: some of them had this liberty a great part of their lives, as Mr. *Hildersham*, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Hering*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Midsley senior* and *junior*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Slater*, and Mr. *Ash* at *Bremicham* Mr. *Tailor*, Mr. *Pateman*, Mr. *Paul Bayne*, Mr. *Fox* of *Tewksbury*, *John Fox*, and many more. Some had this liberty all their lives, as Mr. *Knewstubs*, Dr. *Chadderton*, Dr. *Reignolds* Dr. *Humphrey*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *John Ball*, Mr. *Barnet*, Mr. *Geeree*, Mr. *Root*, Mr. *Atkins* Mr. *Gilpin*, John *Rogers* and many others: some were fain to shift up and down by hiding themselves, and by flight, and these preached sometimes secretly in the houses where they were, and sometime publickly for a day and away, where they could be admitted: so did Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Braashaw*, Mr. *Nicols*, Mr. *Brightman*, Mr. *Brumskil*, Mr. *Humphrey Fen*, Mr. *Sutcliff*, Mr. *Thomas*, and many more; and after their silencing Mr *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and many more that went to *America*, Mr. *Cartwright* was per-

permitted in the Hospital at *Warwick*, Mr. *Harvey*, and Mr. *Hind* at *Bunbery* in *Cheshire*, and many more kept in (having small maintenance) being in peculiar or priviledged places: Mr. *Rathband*, Mr. *Angier*, Mr. *Johnson*, Mr. *Gee*, Mr. *Hancock*, and many others oft silenced, had after liberty by fits. Mr. *Bowrne* of *Manchester*, Mr. *Broxholm* in *Darbyshire* Mr. *Cooper* of *Huntingtonshire* (at *Elton*) and many others suffered more, and laboured more privately. Dr. *Ames* was invited to *Franeker*, some were further alienated from the *English* Prelacie, and separated from their Churches, and some of them called *Brownists*, were so hot at home, that they were put to death; Mr. *Ainsworth*, *Johnson*, *Robinson* and others fled beyond seas, and there gathered Churches of those that followed them; and broke by divisions among themselves. The old Nonconformists being most dead, and the later gone most to *America*, we cannot learn that in 1640 there were many more *Nonconformist* Ministers in *England*, than there be Counties, if so many.

4. The Conformists shortly fell into dissension among themselves, especially about three things, *Arminianism* (as it was called) and *Conciliation with the Church of Rome, and Prerogative*: Dr. *Heylin* in the Life of ArchBishop Laud doth fully open all these differences, and tells us that Archbishop *Abbot* was the Head of one party, and in point of *Antiarminianism* even *Archbishop Whitgift* before him, with *Whitaker* and others had made the *Lambeth* Articles, driven the *Arminians* from *Cambridge*: King *James* had discountenanced them in *Holland*, and sent six Divines

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eleven Members of the Parliament, and afterward imprisoned and excluded the major part of the remaining House, and with the rest cut off the King, cast down the House of Lords, pretended a while to set up a Commonwealth (as they called it) imposed an *Engagement to that Commonwealth as established without King and House of Lords*; ordered the sequestration of the Ministers that refused it, and of those that kept not their daies of fasting and thanksgiving, for the Scotish wars which then they made. After which they cast out with scorn that remnant of the Commons that had joyned with them; and chose themselves some men called a Parliament, who attempting to put down all Parish-Ministers, Tythes and Universities (the first put to the Vote, and carried but by a few against them) they were broke up by delivering up their Commission to *Oliver*, who was made Protector, and had the honour designed of saving the Ministry, Tythes and Universities from the Sectaries; even from that danger into which he had brought them.

20. From the time of these *New Causes and Changes*, especially the destroying the King, violating and casting out the Parliament men, imposing the engagement &c. the Ministers called Presbyterian in *England*, some few compliers excepted (many of whom since Conform) declared themselves against all this, and were lookt upon as enemies; though kindness was offered to reconcile them. Some were imprisoned, many cast out of their places in the Universities, some sequestred, and Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* (a Gentleman) beheaded. Mr. *Gee* with the

Lancaſhire Miniſters, with ſome of us, wrote againſt theſe proceedings of the then Power: Many Preacht againſt them, ſo that the ſober Religious people of the land grew commonly diſaffected to them: And what the *Scots* did and how they were conquered, we need not here relate.

21. The Miniſters who were then in poſſeſſion of the Pariſh Churches were of many minds about Church Government. 1. Many were for the old Epiſcopacy and Liturgie 2. Many were for a reformed Epiſcopacy: 3. Many were for Presbytery (that is, Church-Government by Presbyteries, Claſſes and National aſſemblies, of Teaching and of Governing unordained Elders Conjunct, as *jure divino*) 4. Some were for that which is called Independency. 5. Some thought that no form of Church Government was *jure divino*. 6. But the moſt of our acquaintance were peaceable, moderate men that thought ſeveral parties had ſomewhat of the right, and that the points of difference were ſo few and ſmall, that they might well live in peace and love, and that none of the parties was ſo right as that in all things they ſhould be followed, and others trod down to ſet them up: And many of theſe were young men that, being at the Schools, had not been engaged in the firſt quarrels, and deſired not to ſide with any dividing parties, and modeſtly profeſſed that they had not maturity enough to ſtudy themſelves to any great confidence in the Controverſies.

22. This laſt ſort of men beginning in *Worceſterſhire* ſet on foot a work of reconciling Aſſo-

Association, in which the Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independants, agreed to practise so much of Church Government and Ministration as they were all agreed in, with mutual Love and assisting concord, and to forbear one another in the rest, till God should bring us neerer. (And after they added another Agreement, to Catechise every person in their Parishes old and young, that would come to them, or receive them thereto; and personally to instruct and exhort them about the practicals of Religion, and preparation for death and the life to come) This example was presently followed by the Ministers in *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Essex*, and going on in other Counties, till the confusions 1659 interrupted it, and the return of the Prelacie ended it and many such endeavours.

23. When *Oliver* was dead, many sorts of Government were set up in one year: First his son *Richard* (who having never been in Arms, and being famed to be for the King, many thought he would have been ready, when he could, to resign the Kingdom to him, and spoke him fair on that account, and others because they thought he would quiet the violent, and keep out utter confusion:) After his ejection the Remnant of the Commons called the Commonwealth was restored. After this they were cast out again, and a Council of State Chosen by the Army; till the Kingdom grew to scorn them all, and was weary and ashamed of the confusions, and revived their designs to restore the King.

24. The first open attempt of *united endeavours*

againſt the Army, to reſtore the King, was by the *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Northwales* men, under Sr. *Georg Booth* (now Lord *De lamere*) and Sir *Tho. Middleton*, who had been commanders for the Parliament; and was broken by the Armies Conquering them. Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Kirby*, Mr. *Seddan*, ſent up Priſoners, and in danger of death, and other Miniſters, who ſince are ſilenced and ruined by thoſe they helpt.

25. But the attempts being renewed, at the ſame time, the diviſion of the Oppoſers (the *Army and the Commonwealth Members*) ſhook them all to pieces, and ruined them, and the new cloſure of the Old Parliamentarians, and the Royaliſts, and the Presbyterians, and other Miniſters with the Epiſcopal, ſtrengthened them, and reſtored the King: The Presbyterian Officers and Souldiers of General *Monk*'s Army concurring with the reſt, and Sir *Thomas Alien* then Lord Mayor (many *London* Miniſters on their part counſelling him thereto) with the Aldermen and others, inviting General *Monk* to joyn with the City herein againſt the Oppoſers; from which very day, the ſcales were turned, and all went on without any conſiderable ſtop, and the old ejected Members of Parliament firſt, and the Council ſetled *pro tempore* after, prepared for His Majeſties return; and Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter* Preaching at the Faſt of the next Parliament, (as their Printed Sermons ſhew) the King the next morning was voted to return, and to be invited to his Fathers Throne.

26. In preparation for this, ſome Miniſters now ſilenced, had treated with ſome Gentlemen firm to the King, and with Biſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Brownrig*,

Browrig, Dr. *Hammond*, and others, who all encouraged them (though some much more than others) by professing moderate, healing principles and intentions: And in *London*, and several Counties, the Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen that had still adhered to the King, profest and published their peaceable desires of Concord, and resolution against revenge; And Letters were written from *France* to divers here, to take off all the unjust suspicions that some had raised about the Kings Religion; all which promoted the Concord that accomplished the Change.

27. Those that saw the marvelous success of this *reconciliation and concord*, and knew that the *Clergies distance* was most likely, if any thing, to hinder the happy perfection and settlement of a full desired peace, did presently attempt an agreement among them: And upon the motion of some of the since silenced Ministers, the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Earl of *Orery* mentioning it to the King, they told us, that it was well pleasing to His Majesty: Whereupon His Majesty vouchsafing them audience, and great encouragement, several persons on each side were appointed to treat of the necessary terms of setled Concord and to yield to each other as far as they could, and offer their mutual concessions: What was done in this is not now to be mentioned, save that part of it was published by some body, which declareth it, and the first part being about Church Government and worship, issued in the publication of His *Majesties Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs*, by which all our breaches seemed at

the present to be almost healed, and the House of Commons gave His MAJESTY Publick thanks.

28 At this time the LordChancellor as a token of His Majesties Gracious favour and acceptance, offered *Bishopricks to three* that then treated for Reconciliation, and *Deanries* to *two* or three of them. Of the three first, one did the next day save one refuse it, but in a letter to him professing his gratitude, and that he was so rejoiced in His Majesties Gracious Declaration, that if it might but be setled by Law, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to perswade all men to conformity on those terms, and therefore would not disable himself thereto by taking a Bishoprick, and making men think that it was not for just concord, but his own interest that he wrote or pleaded: Another of them soon accepted: The third and the two or three that had Deanries offered them, only suspended till they saw whether His Majesties Declaration would live or dye.

29. what was done in the next attempt upon His Majesties Commission to *agree on such alterations of the Liturgie as were necessary to tender Consciences, &c.* we are to make no further mention of, then is made by the writings given, in which some body shortly after (in *part* and with many false-printings) published; *An Addition to the Liturgie*, A *Reply to some former Papers of the Bishops*, and an *Earnest Petition* to them for the *Churches Peace*, which were given in and never answered by them (that we know of) some one printed. And being in writing required by a Right reverend Bishop then in the Chair, as from superiours to lay by meer

Incon-

Inconveniences, and to give in those points which we took to be *flat sin*, we gave in *eight particulars* the next day as part; and by that time but one of our arguments about one of them was half handled, and the rest of the arguments untouched, and the rest of the Controverted instances not medled with, our Commission was expired: And the Bishops argumentation as Opponents, afterward, on another occasion printed.

30. Shortly after the convocation of the Clergie setled the Liturgie as now it is setled: The Kings Declaration dyed: The Parliament made the *Act of Vniformity*, by which many Ministers for not conforming to that Law were on *August.* 24. 1662 ejected and silenced, on severe penalties. About Eighteen hundred of their names from several Counties were shewed Mr. *Calamy* and others; and some say about 200 were omitted, and that they were in all above 2000.

31. They that had treated for Reconciliation foresaw what sad divisions were like to follow, if we were not healed and united; and therefore in their Petition made a solemn Protestation that *nothing but the fear of sin and Gods displeasure should hinder them from Conformity*, deprecating the woful effects of the division, which could not possibly be otherwise avoided, than by some necessary abatements of the Impositions: and foretelling much that hath since come to pass, which common understanding might easily see in the Causes.

32. The persons that were silenced were not of one mind and measure about all the things imposed on them. 1. Some of them were

Episcopal, and for as much as *Richard Hooker* writeth for, and were against the Covenant (and never took it) and the Parliaments War, and were for the Liturgie and Ceremonies, and had Conformed had these been all that had been imposed, who yet were cast out of Fellowships and Ministry: Yea some had suffered for the King, and been ruined in their patrimony, some imprisoned for him, and some had been in arms for him. 2. Besides these, and other Episcopal Nonconformists, some and very many, and we think the greatest part of any one, were such disengaged pacificators as we before mentioned about associations: 3. Some were for the Presbyterian Government, and 4. Some for that called Independent, which were comparatively but few.

Also some were (as heretofore Dr. *Iohn Reynolds*, Dr. *Humphrey*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Paul Bayn*, &c. for *some part* of Conformity (*Kneeling* and *Liturgie*, and some for the *Surplice*) & against other parts: Many would have come in to all the old Conformity, had it not been for that one sentence in the Canon-subscription [*Nothing Contrary to the word of God*] (which kept out Mr. *Chillingworth* himself, as is reported, till some dispensation let him in.) But the *New Conformity* was such as satisfied them all against it. Many purposed to have yielded to Prelacy, Liturgie and Ceremonies, and gone to the utmost that Conscience would tolerate, rather than lay by their Ministry. But when they saw the new Act for *Uniformity*, their deliberations were at an end.

33. Their interest, honour or somewhat else led

led many persons of those times, when they had made the name of *Presbyterians* odious, to call all the Nonconformists that were *Episcopal* or neutral, by the name of *Presbyterians*, even those that had declared themselves against the Presbyterian frame, so they were not Independents. And they continue that practice to serve their ends to this day.

34. The elder sort of the Nonconformists were ordained by Diocesan Bishops: The younger sort were ordained by Assemblies of the Parish Pastors of Cities and Countries, no other ordination being then allowed by those in Power.

35. As to the late Civil Wars which some most lowdly charge on the Nonconformists, this is the truth, that the several parties charge the beginning of that war on one another: One party saith that the *Presbyterians* begun it in *England*: Another party lay it on the old Church of *England* men that followed Archbishop *Abbot*, and such like: Both these accused Parties laid the beginning on Archbishop *Laud* as an Innovator, and those that followed him: And some think that every side had too much hand in it, and were to be blamed. The truth is, 1. That more by far of the Nonconformists than of the *late sort* of the Prelatists were for the Parliament in those times: 2. That some that were Sectaries, and some that were hot for the Parliament did conform: 3. That some few that had been in the King's Army or Cause, and that were sufferers for him, and were against the Covenant and the Parliaments War, were Nonconformists: 4. That many more of the *old Episcopal Conformists*,

mists, than of the later sort of them were for the Parliament: 5. That the Archbishop of *York* (*Williams*) who had some time been Lord Keeper, was one of the Parliaments Commanders in *North-Wales* (as it is reported without denial.) 6. That most Ministers are dead that were in that War. 7. That the *Westminster* Assembly, as is said, came thither almost all Conformists. 8. That so small is the number of the present silenced Ministers who had any hand in those Wars, that if no other were ejected and silenced but they, the case would be judged comparatively very easie, and it would be thankfully accepted, as hath oft been told. For most were then youths at School, and in the Universities, and many lived in the King's quarters and garrisons, and many other never medled with Wars at all; it being now about thirty four, or five years since the War began. 9. That all the Wars that have been since their opposition to the Parliament and violence done to the person of the King, were far from being owned by the common sort of the now Nonconformists, as was said. 10. The Doctrine of *Bilson*, *Hooker*, and such like, containing such Principles as Parliament-men then usually professed is before mentioned, though not fully recited, and is commonly known; and that the main body of the Parliament, Assembly, Army, Commanders, Lord Lieutenants, Major Generals of Bragades, and Sea-Captains, were professed Conformists of the Church of *England*. 11. Lastly, We had hoped that His Majesties prudence had by the Act of Oblivion long since ended this part of the Contention; but we find still *some* conformable Ministers

niſters whom in other reſpects we much eſteem and love, who (as if Truth, Charity, Juſtice and Humanity had been forgotten by them) affirm in print that *All the Nonconformiſts were guilty of the King's Death*; paſſing over what is aforeſaid of the Conformiſts; and others of them crying out to Magiſtrates to execute the Laws on us, by the urged Motive of their late ſequeſtrations and ſufferings: as if they knew not, or would not have others to know, how few Nonconformiſts in Parliament or Militia there were at the beginning of the War in compariſon of the Conformiſts; and how much the ſecond, third and following *Cauſes*, *Parties*, and *Tragedies* in that War, were diſliked by the now Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Nonconformiſts.

36. The people who now adhere to the Nonconformiſts, who were at age before the Wars (whom we that write this were acquainted with) had very hard thoughts of the Biſhops perſons, and ſome of Epiſcopacy it ſelf, becauſe of the foreſaid ſilencing of Miniſters, and ruining of honeſt men, about *Sunday*-ſports, Reading that Book, and other ſuch things, beſides Nonconformity: But when the Miniſters that guided them, began to ſeem more reconciled to the Epiſcopal Party, and upon the reports and promiſes which they had heard, had put them in hope that the next Biſhops would prove more moderate, peaceable and pious, than the former, and would by experience avoid diviſions and perſecution, the ſaid people began to be enclined to more reverent and favourable thoughts of Epiſcopacy and the Biſhops; and were, upon experience of the late confuſions, in a far fairer way

way to union & submission to them than before. But when they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some such set over them against their wills, who were better known to them than to the obtruders; and when they heard of about 2000 silenced at once, this so much alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in our power to bring them to so much esteem of them, and reverence to them, as might have been; but multitudes by this were driven further from Conformity than the silenced Ministers.

37. The 2000 silenced were not a quarter of the Ministers of *England*, who were in possession before the return of the Bishops: so that it is evident, that above three fourth parts of the Ministers that kept in under the Parliament and Protector (notwithstanding Covenant, Directory and all) did prove Conformists.

38. The *New-altered* Liturgy was not printed and published till *August* 24. or near it, when the Ministers were to be silenced that subscribed not, and consented not: so that we must needs suppose that they were but few Ministers in *England* in comparison of the rest, who *ever saw and read* (much less *long considered*) *that Book before they declared their Assent and Consent to all things in it.* Sure we are, that we that lived in *London*, who had it at the first publishing, found the time past, or so short to examine all things in it with due deliberation, that had it been blameless, we must have been silenced, unless we had consented upon an implicit faith.

39. Since we were silenced, His Majesties Declaration for more Liberty in Religion came out 1673. but soon died: And since then we have been

been called to many attempts for Unity, in which we have twice come to an agreement with thoſe honeſt, peaceable, pious and learned Divines of the Church of *England*, who were appointed to treat of it with us. But that ſignified nothing as to our healing, while Reaſons unknown to us, or ineffable prevailed.

40. Yet ſtill we have been called on to *Tell what we ſtuck at, and what we deſired, and what would ſatisfie us*, (who deſire nothing but leave to exerciſe the Miniſtry to which we were ordained) and the Cant ſtill goeth on among the ignorant at leaſt, as if we had never told them to this day; or as if ſince the new conformity we had ever been called or had leave to tell them, or as if the ſame men would endure us to tell them our caſe of diſſent and the reaſons of it to this day. But the Judg is at the door.

SECT. VIII.

The Matters of Fact, as to what is required of us, by Laws and Canon, to which we muſt conform; And firſt of Lay-men.

I. OF Laymen that will have any Government or Truſt in any City or Corporation, is neceſſarily required the taking of the following *Oath* and *Declaration* by a Law.

"*I Swear that it is not Lawful upon any* "*pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt* "*the King: And that I Abhor that Trayterous* "*poſition that Arms may be taken by His Autho-* "*rity againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are* "*Com-*

" *Commiſſioned by him*] And the Declaration is " [*That there is NO OBLIGATION* " *upon me or ANY OTHER perſon, from* " *the Oath Commonly called the ſolemn League and* " *Covenant.*

1. By this Oath and this Declaration the *Government and Truſt* of all the Cities and Corporations of *England* are conſtituted or qualified.

2. Part of this Vow and Covenant is [*againſt Popery, ſuperſtition,* and *profaneneſs and all that is againſt ſound doctrine* and *Godlyneſs: that we will Repent of our* ſins, unfeignedly, and amend our lives, &c,] which the Nonconformiſts take to be *Lawful* and *Neceſſary* things.

3. Thouſands of people lived in the Kings Garriſons, or Quarters, and thouſands were then unborn or Children, who never took this Vow or Covenant, nor ever heard or read it, or know what is in it.

4. The Parliament that impoſed it on others took it voluntarily themſelves, as did many thouſand more.

5. Many thouſands took it that never ſaw the faces of each other, nor know *in what ſenſe, or with what mind* all others took it: The ſenſe being doubtful, all took it not in one ſenſe: And many thought themſelves not bound to take it in the impoſers ſence, where the words might bear another; And ſo, its like, thought the Royal party of the Nobility and Gentry, who took it at their compoſition.

6. It was a Vow to God, as well as a Covenant with men (as the words ſhew.)

7. The Controverſie is not, 1. Whether it was

was Lawfully Impoſed, 2. Or whether it was Lawfully *Taken*, 3. Or whether it bind as a League, 4. Nor whether it bind to any unlawful thing (which all renounce) But, 5. Whether as a *Vow made to God, it bind to things neceſſary* (as againſt Schiſm, *Profaneneſs, Popery*: to *Repent*, &c.) to which men were before bound by other obligations. Nor whether they that took it not be bound by it to repent, &c. but whether no one perſon in the three Kingdoms, who took it, be ſo bound: And that ſince the Scots drew his Majeſty to ſeem to own it (which we judge they did unlawfully.)

II. All Parents who will have their Children baptized, muſt ſubmit them to the ſign of the Croſs, as it is after deſcribed. *And ſo muſt all that are to be baptized at age ſubmit themſelves to it.*

III. All perſons that have Children to be baptized muſt conform as followeth 1. They muſt procure three perſons to be Godfathers and Godmother, who muſt perſonally preſent the Child to be baptized, and muſt promiſe aud Vow to God in the Childs name the duties of the Covenant, and muſt in the name of the Child ſay [*that he renounceth the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world &c,* and that *he ſtedfaſtly believeth all the articles of faith, that he will he baptized and that he will obediently keep Gods holy will and Commandments, &c.*] Not that *they believe, conſent &c, but that he* (the Child) *doth believe, deſire, &c.* And it is not a meer promiſe for the future [*I will believe and renounce, &c.*] *but a profeſſion for the preſent time* [*I do believe ſtedfaſtly and I do renounce*] And in the Catechiſm it is ſaid that

[*Repen-*

[*Repentance whereby they forsake sin, and faith whereby they stedfastly believe &c, are required of persons to be baptized* (and not only that *have been baptized*) And yet that *Infants that cannot do this are to be baptized, because* [*they promise them by their sureties,*] and it is not said *because they profess to do them at present by their* sureties.

2. The Child is baptized upon the undertaking of these persons as sponsors or Covenanters, whose *parts* and *duties* are thus expressed, [*To see that this Infant be taught so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn Vow, promise and profession he hath here made by you; and that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear sermons,* and *chiefly ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lords prayer, and the ten Commandements, in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his souls health*; and *that this Child may be brought up to lead a Godly* and a *Christian life.*]

3. The Conformists here are not agreed themselves, what that subjective individual *Faith, renunciation* and *desire* are which the Infant at present PROFESSETH by his sureties: It is not that the *Infant* doth *actually believe himself* for the Catechism confesseth that he *doth not.* Nor is there any probability that he doth, unless by miracle unknown. And if it be any ones *faith* else that the Infant then *Professeth* which is *Imputatively his own,* it is not agreed *whose faith that is or must be*; whether the *Godfathers*, or the *Churches*, and *what* Churches; whether *that Congregations,* or the *Diocesan Churches*, or the *National*

tional Churches, or the *Universal Church*? or whether it must be the *Parents*, *Adopters* or *Owners* of the Child.

4. Though the Godfathers be not by words to promise their *Parts*, yet standing purposely there as undertakers of it, and hearing the Minister expressly tell them what their *PART* and *DUTY* is, their coming and standing in that relation, is a plain signification of consent, and rendereth them obliged Covenanters or Sponsors.

5. These sponsors are not obliged to profess that the Child is *theirs by Adoption* or *any propriety*: And so far is any such *adopting* or *owning* from their purposes, that we never in all our lives knew any Godfather or Godmother as such, (not having before taken the Child as theirs on other reasons) that ever became a sponsor with such a signified intent.

6. In most Country Parishes that we have known, a great part of the Communicants, seem Ignorant themselves of what is to be undertaken for the baptized, (as we judge by our tryal where we have lived, and the credible report of other Pastors:) And too many notoriously live themselves in a course of life contrary to what is to be undertaken for the Child.

7. In all our lives we never knew one person that undertook this Office of Godfather or Godmother who beforehand gave the Parents any credible promise or signification, that they had any purpose at all to perform, what the Church Chargeth on them, and they there undertake as their *parts* and *duties*.

8. Nor did we ever know one in all our lives that as a *Godfather* or Godmother did perform it;

viz. [*To see themselves that the Child be taught his Covenant as soon as he is able to learn,* and to provide that he be taught all before recited, his Creed, &c. and *all things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his souls health; and that he be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life*: But they leave them to the Parents.

9. No man can compel another to be Godfather or Godmother.

10. All such undertakers that we have known have been of some of these following sorts: 1. Either *ignorant* persons that knew not, or *careless* that considered not what they did: 2. Or persons that *mistook* the sense of the Church, and thought that they were but the *representers* of the *Parents*, and that what *they* promised, it was *not they*, but the *Parents* that were bound to perform: 3. Or *Nonconformists* (in this point) who purposed beforehand to be but the *Parents Representatives*, and that the promise and obligation should all be devolved from them on the Parents, though they knew the Church meant otherwise; and that they were not bound to the Churches sense; and therefore their standing to hear [*this is your part*] was no consent to take it for their part. And none of all these do answer the Churches sense in their undertaking: And if we are commonly baptized and made Christians in a way of *false Vowing* or *Covenanting* of such persons, or of *delusory Equivocation*, it is not well.

11. We know not where Parents can procure any to undertake this Office as the Church imposeth it, that *credibly* signifie themselves *able* and *willing* to perform it: we could not do it our selves were we never so desirous: Perhaps

some *Rich men* might hire others to take their Children into their *Care* and *Education*, as must be promised; but who would do so for the poor? yea for *all* the poor of *England?* And the Nonconformists are not satisfied that it is lawful to engage any in a perfidious covenanting before God, when before-hand they have no credible signification of any purpose to perform it. Nay, when the Parent resolveth to educate his own Child, and not to trust him to the *Provision* or care of others.

12. The Minister Covenanting [*to use the form in the Book of Common Prayer prescribed in administration of the Sacraments, and no other*] *Can.* 36. No Parent *may speak a word in the name of his own Child*, nor to *enter him* there *into the Covenant of God*, nor professe that he offereth him to Baptism by virtue of, and in confidence in the promise [*I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed in their Generations;*] Nor to promise himself what the Godfathers are to promise: The words also of the Can. 29. are these; "[*No Parent shall be urged to be PRESENT, nor be "admitted to answer as Godfather for his own "Child: Nor any Godfather or Godmother shall "be suffered to make any other answer or speech "than by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed "in that behalf.*

13. It is the Godfathers work also (by the Liturgy) *to take care that the Child be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him* (in the manner of the Church of *England*) as soon as he can say the Creed, Lords Prayer, and ten Commandments, and *be further instructed in the Church Catechism*; which Godfathers use not

at all to perform; nor do the Parents use to expect it: Nor doth one Child of a multitude understand what the Baptismal Covenant is, of many a year after they have learned to say the said Catechism.

14. That the Godfathers stand not there as the *Representers* of the *Parents* is evident (according to the sense of the Church) because the Parent himself is not suffered to do it, or speak one covenanting word; nor must be urged to be present; nor are they to speak in the *Parents name* in any of their undertakings; Nor is there the least intimation that the Church taketh the Sponsor for the Parents Representative.

15. The Parents are to be admonished not to defer the Baptism of their Children longer than the first or second *Sunday*, unless upon a great and reasonable cause to be approved by the Curate (whether they can get understanding, credible Godfathers or not:) These are the Matters of Fact.

Here note 1. That there is no Controversie between the Conformists and Nonconformists, whether Christians Infants should be baptized: 2. Nor whether a Conformists baptizing be valid: 3. Nor whether the Parents presence be absolutely necessary, and another may not speak in his name: 4. Nor whether Adopters, or any Proprieters may not covenant for the Child: 5. Nor whether the old Sponsors be lawful, who 1. Witnessed the credibility of the Parent; 2. And undertook the Christian Education of the Child, if the Parents should either *die* or apostatize: The Nonconformists are against no such Sponsors, though they think that their Children have

right

right to Baptism without such. 6. Nor do they deny that Baptism in the Parish-Churches is *valid* and *lawful* as to the Parents and Godfathers, if they do but agree on the Nonconformists way, that the Sponsors shall but represent the Parents, and that they be not bound by the contrary judgment of the Authors of the Liturgy to the contrary. But the questions are 1. Whether a Christians Child, whose Parents have no way forfeited their credit, have not right to Baptism, without other Godfathers. 2. Whether the *Parent* should not *solemnly enter his own Child into the Covenant of God* (as well as in times of Circumcision.) And whether any Parent should be *forbidden* it, *viz.* to appear and speak as the Representer of the Child, or Undertaker for him, and Promiser of his Education. 3. Whether that Child must *profess* by another, that *He Himself Believeth, Renounceth, Repenteth and Desireth Baptism*: And it be not rather to be *professed* that he is the *seed* of a *Believing, Penitent Parent*, whose *Will* is as *his Will*, and is under God's Promise [*I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed.*] 4. Whether a Christian Parent may consent to the *perfidious undertaking* of any *Godfathers*, who give him not the least reason to believe that they intend that provision for the Children which they undertake: Or else may let his Child be unbaptized till he can get such a credible Undertaker; which is never like to be with most, or many. 5. Whether the Children of Heathens, or Infidels, or Atheists, have right to Baptism upon the presentation of any Godfather, who never adopteth them, or taketh them for his own, nor giveth any credible notice

that he really intendeth to educate those Children as *pro forma* he seemeth to undertake: Or whether such Children are truly said to believe, because the Godfather, or Minister, or Congregation, or Diocess, or Nation, or Catholick Church believe.

III. The Nonconformists are not of one mind about receiving the Lords Supper *Kneeling*; Many judge it *Lawful*, though neither necessary nor most eligible were they free; some judge it also most eligible: And some judge it, as things stand, unlawful: Their reasons are.

1. In doubtful cases duty lieth on the surest side: But this to them is a doubtful case on one side, and to imitate Christs institution by such sitting as men use to do at meat, is certainly Lawful.

2. Because they think this Kneeling violateth the reasons of the second Commandment, being used where, by whole Countries of Papists round about us, and many among us it signifieth *Bread-Worship* or Idolatry by the same Action at the same season used. For they suppose that the second Commandment forbiddeth *Images*, as being *External, Corporal, Idolatry*, and *Symbolizing* scandalously with Idolators, though the mind intend the worshiping of the true God alone. And such they think this kneeling is, and that it encourageth the Papists (as is instanced in a story in the Life of Bishop *Hall.*)

3. Because they think that the Tradition and Custom of the Catholick Church and the Canons of the greatest General Councils not repealed by any other (as *Nic.* 1. *Can.* 20. *& Can. Trull. &c,*) are of stronger obligation than the

the Canons of our Convocation. And those Canons, Customs and tradition prohibite all Adoration by Genuflection on any Lords day in the year, and on any week day els between *Easter* and *whitsontide*; And this custom continued 1000 years as the Tradition of the Universal Church; and was never repealed but changed by degrees by contrary practice: They that think not that they are bound by these Canons or Customs at all, yet think that they are enough to nullifie a contrary Canon of a lower power; or *ad hominem* may excuse them. Yea the Constitutions called the Apostles, seem to Command all the people to receive the Sacrament standing and to go for it *Lib. 2. Cap. 57.* Having prescribed the order of worship (that after the old Scriptures read, they sing a Psalm and then read the Acts and Epistles and the Gospels, and then that the Presbyters one by one exhort the people first and the Bishop last (for in those time every Church that had an Altar had a Bishop) he concludeth [*Postea vero fiat sacrificium, cuncto populo Stante & silentio precante, & oblatione facta, quisque ordo seorsim corpus Domini & precioſum ſanguinem ſumat, accedentes ordine cum pudore & reverentia ut ad corpus Regis. Item mulieres operto capite, ut ordinem earum decet, accedant* that is [After let the *sacrifice* be *made*, *all* the *people standing* and *praying in silence*: *And the oblation being made let every order apart take* the *body* of *Christ and his precious blood*: *Coming* to it *in order with modesty* and *reverence as to the body* of the King. *And let the women approach with covered heads as becometh their order.*]

For such reasons as these set together, some Nonconformists, (*Lay* and Clergy) take this *Kneeling* (while Papists about us by the same gesture adore the Bread) to be unlawful, who yet profess as great Reverence to Christ and the Eucharist as any others.

But other Nonconformists say that they can answer all these arguments. But that they truly render the scruples of the dissenters *tollerable*, and the persons unmeet to be *therefore excommunicate*.

2. By the Canon and Rubrick, no one of these dissenters must be admitted to the holy Communion, *Can.* 27. Saith [*No Minister when he celebrateth the Communion shall wittingly administer the same to any, but to such as kneel, under pain of suspension.*] And the Ministers Covenant to use *no form* of *administring the Sacraments but according to the Liturgie.*

V. The Rubrick after Confirmation saith [*There shall none be admitted to the holy Communion, till such time as he be confirmed, or be Ready and Desirous to be confirmed.* So that desire of Confirmation in the *English* way, is made a necessary Condition of Communion.

2. The publick owning of the Baptismal Covenant, is that which the Nonconformists are so far from being against, that they take it with a serious Confirmation thereupon to be the meet way of transition from the Infant-state of Church-membership, into that of the Adult: and the most Congruous means of uniting dissenters about Church discipline, and of preventing Anabaptistry that can be found out. But many sober Christians are unsatisfied with the *English*

way

way of Confirmation, 1. Becauſe they find it ſo like to that Confirmation which the Papiſts have made a Sacrament, and which very many beyond-Sea Proteſtants have written againſt: *vide Dallæum de confirmat.* 2. Becauſe it is made the proper work of a Dioceſan, and wholly denyed to the Parochial Paſtors; And becauſe thoſe Dioceſans know not ordinarily whether the perſons be meet or unmeet to be confirmed, being ſtrangers to them; for how can they know all the perſons, men, women and ſuch Children of ſo many Pariſhes as a Dioceſs doth contain: (ſome Dioceſſes having above a thouſand Pariſhes others many hundred: One above 100 miles in Length, and others, very great) ? Its true, that the Miniſter of the Pariſh is bid to Catechiſe them, and to bring or ſend in writing the names of ſuch as he thinks fit for Confirmation. But 1. This is not ordinarily done: but Children in our time have uſed to run together to a biſhop when he came into the Country on that work, without the Miniſters Certificate or Godfathers; and none, that ever we knew of, that came for Confirmation in this manner, was refuſed: And as the Biſhop never ſaw or knew one of the multitude whom he Confirmeth, ſo he taketh not time ſo far to examine them as to give him rational ſatisfaction of their fitneſs: Nor indeed can he poſſibly do it for one of a multitude of ſo large Dioceſſes, when moſt *great Pariſhes* are too big for a preſent Miniſter who is acquainted with them better than a ſtrange Dioceſan can be: How can a man that hath ſo many other employments as Dioceſans have find leiſure, were he never ſo willing, to examine

ſo,

ſo many hundred thouſands as are in this Dioceſs? or ſo many ſcore thouſands as are in many others? 3. And as the Miniſters rarely certifie according to the Canon, ſo the Biſhop is not tyed to take his conſent, but may thus impoſe confirmed perſons on his Communion, though he know them to be never ſo ignorant or unmeet. 4. And it is *Children* that are thus to be confirmed, who rarely ever come ſo young to own with any tolerable underſtanding and ſerioufneſs, their Baptiſmal Covenant. Few of us by experience can ſay, that we did it of many years after that we had learned the Lords Prayer, &c. 5. And no other qualification is neceſſary, but that he learn the Creed, Lords-Prayer, Decalogue, and Church-Catechiſm, the bare words of which are learnt by rote by multitudes of Children, who underſtand little or nothing of what they ſay: We do not find, that if perſons ſtay unconfirmed till they are adult, that any Hereſie or wickedneſs of life, is a bar to their confirmation; much leſs are they required to bring any teſtimony, that they live according to their Baptiſmal Covenant. 6. And as far as we can learn, it is but a very ſmall part of this Kingdom in compariſon of the reſt, that ever were confirmed. 7. Nor know we many Miniſters that ever examined their people generally, whether they were ready and willing to be confirmed.

VI. The Nonconformable Laity are ejected from the Communion of the Church, and their Children (that are diſpoſed of by them) from Baptiſm, Chriſtendom and Chriſtian burial, if not from ſalvation, as far as in the Church lyeth;

lyeth; and those that *affirm themselves to be Nonconformists* are by the *Church Laws excommunicated ipso facto*, though they should desire Communion.

2. That no Minister is to admit them to the Sacramental Communion is before shewed from Can. 27. And also that their Children are not to be baptized, unless they will submit them to the dedicating sign of the Cross; no nor to be buried with Christian Burial (of which more afterward.)

3. If they have a Minister in their own Parish that never preacheth, or so bad as that they dare not commit the Pastoral care of their souls to him, they must not be admitted to Communion, in any other neighbour Parishes, Can. 28.

That they are *ipso facto excommunicated*, shall be anon shewed.

SECT. IX.

The Matters of Fact that concern the Conformity and Nonconformity of the Ministers: And 1. *of Assent, Consent and Subscription that nothing is contrary to God's Word.*

1. THE Canon to be subscribed (36th.) *willingly* and *ex animo* is [*That the Book of Common-Prayer*, and of ordaining of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it NOTHING CONTRARY TO THE WORD OF GOD; *and*

and that he himself will use the form in the said Book prescribed in publick Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

2. The meaning of this subscription is not agreed of by the Conformists that take it: As to the first clause, some say that by [*Nothing Contrary to the word*] is meant as it is spoken, [*Nothing*] indeed. Others say by [*Nothing*] is meant [*Nothing which I have discerned so to be*: Or [*Nothing, except such failings as all humane writings are lyable to.*] And by [*Contrary*] Some say [*Contrary in the Common sense of the word*] is meant: But others say that by [*Contrary*] is meant [*so far Contrary as should drive us from Communion with the Church*] or [*Contrary to any great doctrine or precept* of the *Word of God.* And the Nonconformists interpret it as the first sort do, according to the usual and proper meaning of the words.

3. So the later clause, [*that he himself will use* that *form in publick prayer* and *administration* of *the Sacraments* and *none other*;] Dr. *Heylin* and very many others suppose is meant properly as is spoken *viz.* That by the *form* is meant all the *words* and *orders*, and that by *publick prayer* is meant as is spoken, *All publick prayer used by a Minister in the publick assemblies*] And that by [*None other*] is meant [neither *wholly* nor *in part.*] But others think that by [*Form*] is meant only [*the form of words*, and not the *orders*] And that by [*none other*] is meant only [*No other Book of Common-Prayer or set Liturgie.*] Or [*No other entire form and order excluding this*;] And that it doth not mean [*No other form before or after Sermon in the Pulpit*, or *in some*

some parts of Worship, so it be of our own Composure:] Nor yet that we may not use sometime some other order than is prescribed in the Rubricks, *viz.* 1. Sometime read other Chapters than the Calender prescribeth, because that Liberty is expressed in the Preface to the second Book of Homilies: 2. Sometimes to give the Sacrament to some that kneel not: 3. To baptize some without the Cross, &c. (of which more hereafter) Because the Rubrick saith only [*you shall do thus*] but saith not [*you shall do no otherwise.*] But to this the former sort answer 1. That if any universal Negative (*none other*) may be *particularly* or limitedly interpreted upon our own surmises, no Laws, Covenants or Promises signifie any thing, and no words are intelligible: 2. That we subscribe strictly to this Article (to use no other form,) But not so to the Book of Homilies, but only that we take it for wholsom Doctrine: 3. That if the Rubrick for Crossing, Kneeling, &c. exclude not all other inconsistent forms of administration, it signifieth nothing, but leaveth every man to his own will.

4. It is yet a greater doubt with the Conformists themselves, whether these words be not at least a Covenant that *They will use no other printed prescribed Liturgy.* And so some think that it plainly obligeth them not to use those printed Forms which the Archbishops and Bishops have used to draw up and impose, for several Publick Fasts, Thanksgivings, and particular occasions. But others think that it doth not bind them to disobey the Bishops therein: but that such exceptions were intended though not expresst, or at least had been inserted if not forgotten.

II. The

II. The Act of Uniformity requireth that every Minister that officiates "[*Do openly and publickly before the Congregation there assembled, "declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent to the "Use of all things in the Book contained and prescribed, in these words and no other* [*I A. B. do "here declare my unfeigned Assent and Consent "to all and every thing contained and prescribed, "in and by the Book entituled, The Book of Common-Prayer, & Administration of the Sacraments "and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, "according to the use of the Church of* England; "*together with the Psalter or Psalms of* David "*pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, "and the form or manner of making, ordaining "and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.*] "And page 10. [*He shall declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent unto, and Approbation of the "said Book, and to the use of all the Prayers, "Rites and Ceremonies, Forms and Orders therein contained and prescribed according to the "form aforesaid.*]

2. The Conformists themselves are not agreed of the meaning of these plain words, One party expounding them as the Nonconformists do, according to the propereſt and ordinary use of the words, and the other party otherwise. The former hold that as many Acts of Parliament Contein more in the body of the Act than in the Title, and make the *means* more extensive than the end, so here the ASSENT and CONSENT to the USE of the Book is the END in the first clause, and APPROBATION also in the second: And that the Declaring that form of words is the *Means to that end*: That Assent

Assent signifieth *Assent to the Truth*] and [*Consent* and *Approbation*] relate to the *Goodness, rectitude and use,*] And that this is not only of the Prayers and other parts which the subscriber is to Read to the people, but as is expreſt [*of all things* (without exception] *Conteined in and prescribed by it* ; particularly [*to all the Prayers, Rites, Ceremonies, Forms and Orders* ;] without colluſion or equivocation.

The other part hold, that all this ſignifieth no more, but that [*I Assent that I may lawfully use,* and I *Consent to use, so much as belongeth to my place,* and that *I will not unpeaceably oppose it.*] Their argument is, *Because* [to the Uſe,] is mentioned before the Form of words. To which the other anſwer as before, that 1. That *Approbation* is mentioned after as well as *Use.* 2. That the *Means* are larger than the *end:* As in the Corporation Act, the end is the *preventing of Rebellion* ; but the Means is Declaring that [*There is no obligation on me or any other from that Oath.*] 3. That without groſs violence *Assent* can be judged to mean no leſs than [*Assenting* that *it is true.*] 4. That there is not a word in the Book which was not intended for ſome *Use*: And therefore, to *Assent, Approve* and *Consent to the Use,* is more than meerly to *Assent* to the Truth: The Preface hath its Uſe ; and the Calendar its Uſe, and the Rubrick its uſes, and the reſt of the parts their ſeveral Uſes ; But did we believe it to be *falſe,* how could we *Approve* it, or of what *Use* would it be? 5. To put all out of doubt the Parliament-men long ago told us (none Contradicting it to us) that into another Bill, the houſe of Lords added a *Proviſo* that the Decla-

Declaration in the Act of *Vniformity* ſhould be underſtood but as obliging men *to the Vſe of it*; and that the Houſe of Commons refuſing, at a Conference about it, they gave in ſuch Reaſons againſt that ſenſe and proviſo to the Lords, upon which they did acquieſce, and caſt it out.

III. By this General Declaration we are obliged to *Aſſent* to (as true) to *Approve* and to *Vſe* theſe words after the Calender, " [*Rules to* " *know when the Moveable Feaſts and Holydaies* " *begin. Eaſter-day* (*on which the reſt depend*) *is* " *alwaies the firſt Sunday after the firſt full Moon,* " *which happens next after the one and twentieth* " *day of* March.]

2. This Rule is falſe: As 1. Every Almanack will ſhew: 2. The Table following to find out *Eaſter-day* for ever: 3. And the practice of our Church, that keepeth *Eaſter* on another day.

3. To conſent to *Vſe this*, is to conſent to keep *Eaſter-day*, contrary to all Chriſtian Churches, and contrary to another Rule in the ſame Book; and to conſent to *uſe both Rules*, is to *conſent to keep two Eaſter-days* in one year; and ſo of *Eaſter* Term.

4. Hereupon ſome Conformiſts ſay, that [*Aſſenting to, Approving of, and Conſenting to All things contained and preſcribed,*] ſignifieth but [*as to humane, fallible writings, ſo far as there is no miſtake*] or [*Aſſenting* and *Conſenting* to be *peaceable.*] But others ſay that it is but [*to Aſſent that it is true where it is not falſe, and Approve it as good where it is not bad; and to Conſent to uſe it where I have no cauſe to the contrary.*] And they ask, 1. Whether this be the uſual or proper ſignification of ſuch words? 2. Whether any

Non-

Nonconformists would refuse it in that sense. 3. Whether they will give leave to the Papists and all other subjects to take the Oath of Allegiance in such a kind of sense and exposition.

But there is one that hath defended this as true, and tells us that by the [*full moon*] is not meant that which we call the *full moon*, or the same that's meant in the other parts of the Book, but by the *full moon* is meant [*the mean Conjunction*] and [the *fourth* of *April* that year 1664 Or [14 *daies after the ancient new moon found* by *the Golden number* the 14*th day of the Ecclesiastical Cylclic month*] For an old Mass Book saith [*Post veris æquinoctium Quære plenilunium & Dominica proxima sacrum celebra Paschа: Non verius inveneris si mille legas Codices.*]

Quest. 1. Are we sure this Mass Book meant not *pleniluniam* as we do properly?

Quest. 2. And are we sure they erred not that wrote this?

Quest. 3. And yet are you sure what they meant?

Quest. 4. Would you perswade us that our Convocation now borrowed their Direction from this Mass Book?

Quest. 5. Are you sure that this Mass Book should be our rule herein of speaking or interpreting?

Quest. 6. And yet not in the Calendar and other passages in our Liturgy?

Quest. 7. Did the the Convocation intend that we should not here understand [*The full moon*] properly, nor as in all the rest of the Book?

Quest. 8. If this defender be in the right, was there ever a plainer way made to bring all men

to an *Implicit Faith*, to believe as the Convocation believeth, even in Calendars, when we know not what they believe themselves. For my part I must confess that after all this Dr. (*Pell* they say) hath said of another sense of the word [*full Moon*] I know not yet what he meaneth. *Qu.* Whether the Convocation meant that none should Preach Christs Gospel that understood not this strange sense of the [*full Moon*] that is [*no full Moon*] and yet would not by one line *expound* it to us, to keep us from being cast out and ruined? Or whether they meant that all men should be forced and taught to subscribe or declare assent to that which they never understood? when I had never yet the advantage of speaking with one Bishop, or conformable Dr. that understood the word [*full Moon*] as this Doctor taught them (whether in good earnest I know not.) And if our Conformity must be thus performed, by equivocation implicitly, contrary to the common sense of mankind, we shall yet suspend it, till we know how much further we have to go, if it be blindfold that we must be led; and refer all to God our final Judge, whose judgment we are near.

"4. We *Assent* to, *Approve* of and *Consent* "to, these words in the Preface [*we are fully* "*perswaded in our judgments* (and *we here profess* "*it to the world*) *that the Book as it stood* "*before established* by Law; *doth not contein in it* "*any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound* "*Doctrine, or which a Godly man may not with* "*a good Conscience Use and submit unto, or which* "*is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose* "*the same, &c.*] 2. *Psal.* 105. 28. The words in the

the Liturgy and old Translation are [*They were not obedient to his word*] And the new Translation according to the *Hebrew* is [*They rebelled not against his word*] Clear contrary: Therefore the Nonconformists think that one of them is Contrary to the word of God (and this old Translation is Continued still in the Church.) 3. In the old Book in the Gospels these texts are thus translated *Rom.* 12. 2. *Epist.* to 1. Sunday after *Epiph.* [*Be ye changed in your shape*:] The new Translation is [*Be transformed by the renewing of your mind*] *Phil.* 2. 7. *Epist.* for Sunday next before Easter [*found in his apparel as a man*:] In the new Translation it is (Was made in the likeness of men.] *Gal.* 4. *Ep.* to 4th Sunday in Lent, It is [*Mount Sinai is Agar in Arabia and bordereth on the City which is now called Jerusalem.*] In the new Translation it is [For this *Agar* was *mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is.*] *Mathews* day *Ep.* 2 *Cor.* 4. The old Book has it [*We go not out of kind.*] The new is [*We faint not.*] *John.* 2. for third *Sunday in Lent* [*When men be drunk*] is the old Books Translation: But the new is [*When men have well drunk.*] *Luke* 11. for third *Sunday in Lent*, the old Book hath [*When one house doth fall upon another*] the new hath [*A house divided against an house falleth.*] *Luke* 1. for the *Annunciation*; the old Book sayeth [*This is the sixth month which was called barren*] in the new Translation it is [*This is the sixth month with her who was called barren.* If one of these be *God's Word*, the Nonconformists think that the other is *contrary* to it. 4. In the old Book in the Psalms there are whole verses left out, which

are in the Hebrew Text, and our new Translation; and divers translated in a quite different sense the former following the Septuagint. 5. The Rubrick for *Christmas day* is [*Then shall follow the Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said continually unto New-years day.*] And the Collect for all these several daies is [*Almighty God, which hast given us thine only begotten Son to take our Nature upon him*, and THIS DAY to be born of a pure Virgin. So the Collect on *Whitsunday* is [*God which upon this day, &c.*] The Rubrick is, [*The same Collect to be read Munday and Tuesday*] So on *Christmas day*, and seven daies after [*Because thou hast given Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as on this day for us, &c.*] And on *Whitsunday*, and *six daies* after [*According to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down this day from Heaven.*] These things, and such other we must approve in the foresaid *Approbation* of all things in the *old Common-Prayer-Book*.

V. We must Assent, Approve, and Consent to all the *mis-translations in the present Liturgy*, as well as to justifie the *old Edition*: That before-cited *Psal.* 105. 28. is in the *present Book*, and so are the rest of the omissions and differences in the Psalms before mentioned, which are many. Different Translations which have all the *same sense*, may be all called *God's Word*, because their *sense* is so: But where they have *different senses*, so far one of them is contrary to God's Word: For God's Word is *one* and *true*, and not contrary to it self. The question is not whether these faulty Translations were not a *good work*, and a great mercy to the Church, till we had a

better?

better? Nor whether they may not be lawfully used where there is no better? Yea or where there is a better, if the Command of Governours, or Concord, make it best for that time and place. But it is, Whether all the *faults* of the *Translation* may be *Assented, Approved* and *Consented to*? We commit some failings and sins every day, but we may not *Approve* of them, and profess that we *Consent* so to do.

2. Some Conformists here think that the Declaration is to be taken *properly*, without any force or distorting, and they say that *both Translations* are justifiable, because one followeth the Hebrew, and the other the Septuagint, and Christ and his Apostles have justified both by using them. But others of them hold that this instance proveth that by [*All things*] Assented and consented to, must be meant only [*All things* that *are not by humane frailty mistaken,* or *erroneous*] or els, that by *Assenting* and *Approving* must be meant no more than *Assenting that they may be Used*: And so they consent with the Nonconformists in the matter, but not in the exposition of the words. And to the former they say, 1. That there are other mistranslations, besides those that follow the septuagint. 2. That Christ and the Apostles by citing some Texts according to the septuagint, do not thereby approve of all the rest; for they cite others otherwise. 3. That by citing them, they justifie not alwaies the translation, but only the *sense* so far as it is cited for, it being that scripture which the people then commonly used.

3. And they say that if this objection should hinder mens Assenting to the Liturgy, it might

as well hinder their Assenting to the Bible in our translations. And indeed we know no Nonconformist who would declare or subscribe that he doth *Assent to, Approve and Consent to all things Contained in the Bible according to any Translation, but only all things Contained in the Bible as it was delivered by the sacred writers; and in all Translations* so far as they truly *signifie* or *express that* to us. But if they might but say, as one part expounds the Declaration, [*We Assent, &c. To all things Contained, &c. That are not by humane frailty mistaken*] they would soon Conform herein.

6. The Calendar in the Common Prayer appointeth the publick reading of the Books called *Apocrypha* beginning *September* 28. And so Continuing to *November* 24. Every day of the week, except the proper Lessons interposed. Part of the Apocrypha to be read are the Book of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Bell*, and the *Dragon &c.*

2. Learned Bishops and Divines of the Church of England have written to prove that these Books are not only Aprocryphal but fabulous, and have manifest untruths; As that the intralls of a fish will drive away all Devils and keep them from returning: When Christ saith [*This kind goeth not out but by Fasting and Prayer*] And when the Angel saith that *He was the son* of *Ananias of the tribe of Napthali,*] &c.

3. These Books are to be read just in the place and order as the Sacred Scriptures are; and under the same title of the [*First Lesson*] Only called Apocrypha in the Bibles. But 1. It is not appointed that the Priest tell the people so: 2. If it were, they understand not Commonly what

[*Apocrypha*]

[*Apocrypha*] signifieth : 3. If they were sometime told it, they forget it; and apply not that name to every Lesson that they thence hear. 4. It is not denyed that the sounder Books that are *Apocrypha may be read in the Church* as a Homily may be with due notice of their difference from the Canonical Books: But the question is whether not only *they*, but the Books proved fabulous by many Protestants, may be there read, and that instead of so much of the holy Scripture then omitted, and that without any better notice given to the Common people of the difference. 5. And the chief doubt is, whether this may not only be done, but also the Calendar as so appointing it, may be Approved of and Consented to by us all.

7. It hath been before opened, that no Parent is permitted to be Godfather to his own Child; or to speak one word at his baptizing, to enter him into the Covenant of God, or dedicate him to him, nor to promise in his name, nor to undertake any part of his Christian education, nor so much as to be urged to be present. Nor is there a word to intimate that the Godfathers represent the Parent, or speak in his name or stead, but the contrary is implyed. [Though the Parents are to procure these God fathers. 2. It hath also been before shewed how great a Controversie it is, whether Infants Right to Gods promises and Church state, be not by that Covenant [*I Will be thy God* and *the God of thy seed*;] implyed in 1. *Cor.* 7. 14. [*els were your* Children *unclean but now are they holy.*] And so whether Infants have any right upon a Godfathers words there, who never took them for,

his own; if on the Parents account they have no right. And whether such Godfathers act be truly the Childs in Gods account; 3. And it was before enquired, In what sense this Godfather doth (not *promise only* that the Child *shall believe* at age, but) in the Childs name *professe* that *he doth at present believe*: And whether it be not enough [and much more necessary then the Godfathers faith) that he be the Child of a *believing Parent*, *dedicating him to God.* 4. And it hath been shewed that Godfathers promise themselves partly to teach the Child, and partly to provide that he be taught all that a Christian should learn as necessary to his souls health. 5. And that these Godfathers never ordinarily, give the Parents the least reason to believe that they have any purpose to do any such thing as they undertake: Which is perfidiousness in the weightiest business: And 6. also that (as such) they are no adopters or owners of the Child. 7. And also how hard it is for any Parents ever to get better, seeing *wiser* and *better* will not undertake it in the foresaid conformable sence. 8. The sence and use of Godfathers is partly known by the Practise of Princes and great men, (who must be supposed to know best, and be most righteous and exemplary) who usually by a *Proxie* are Godfathers to the Children of Foreign Princes, or Great men, (perhaps Papists) whom they never saw, nor ever are like to see their Children. 9. Ministers must Assent, Approve of and Consent to, all this exclusion of the Parents, and presentation, profession, undertaking and promise of the Godfathers, which the Liturgy mentioneth;

tioneth; 10. Conformists are not agreed themselves, of the true Office and undertaking of these Godfathers, nor of the Parents part, nor by whose right it is that one Child rather than others is to be baptized, and whether any at all should be refused, by whomsoever (that is a Christian) offered thereunto.

8. The Rubrick to which we must declare our Assent, Approbation and Consent, hath this Article of faith. [*It is certain by Gods Word, that "Children which are baptized, dying before they "commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved.*] And the Rubrick at Buryal, excepteth all the *unbaptized* from Christian Burial, according to the Office.

2. The Canon 68 and 69, suspendeth any Minister who shall *refuse* or *delay* to Christen *any Child* without exception which is brought to the Church on Sundays or Holydays to be Christned, according to the Form in the Common-Prayer; or if in case of danger he be desired to do it privately. Neither Rubrick nor Canon here except from Baptism and certainty of salvation, any Children of *Turks, Infidels, Heathens*, and *Atheists*, or those whose Parents renounce Christianity, and consent not to their Childrens Baptism; so be it any Godfathers as aforesaid bring them.

3. The Conformists agree not of the sence of this *Article* of Faith: Some hold that the word [*Children* here meaneth not [*All Children that are Baptized*] but *some* such only: But others affirm that this exposition is false, and contrary to the plain importance of the words, for it is an *Indefinite*, say they, *in re necessaria*, in the sense

ſenſe of the Book. And if the meaning be not [*Children that are Baptized, qua tales*] it hath no intelligible ſenſe, the certainty of their Salvation being Aſſerted as from Scripture, and not any other *reaſon* of it given. But if this be the meaning (as it is) then *a quatenus ad omnes valet conſequentia*; unleſs any exception had been added, which is not.

4. Some ſay that it is implied that Children that *had no right to Baptiſm* are excepted. But others ſay 1. That *ubi lex non diſtinguit non eſt diſtinguendum.* The Church could have excepted if they would. 2. And that *quod fieri non debet factum valet.* 3. Yea that all Children have right to Baptiſm, if any Chriſtians offer them to it.

5. Some confound the Miniſters right to Baptize them, and the Infants right to be Baptized; And this right as only *in foro Eccleſiæ*, and as *in foro Cæli*; As if all Baptized upon any of theſe rights were undoubtedly ſaved. But others diſtinguiſh theſe, and ſay, 1. That the Miniſter may have right to Baptize one if offered, that yet ought not to have been offered; which will not ſave an uncapable ſubject: 2. That the Children of Hypocrites have right *Coram Eccl ſia*, and that their Baptiſm aſcertaineth to them no more than external or common priviledges; 3. And that only the Children of true *believers* have ſuch a right *coram Deo* as certainly ſaveth them. But others ſay that both the laſt ſort are ſaved.

6. Some of them hold that *All Infants in the world Baptized or not, are ſaved by univerſal redemption, if they dye before actual ſin:* And that the Article therefore affirmeth it of the Baptized.

But

But others say, this cannot be the sence: For 1. To say [*All baptized*] and mean [*All unbaptized*] or any [*not as Baptized*] were not intelligible nor candid. 2. And the Burial Rubrick excepting the unbaptized from that Christian burial, sheweth the meaning of the Church in this Article.

7. Also about the [*undoubted certainty*] they differ; some think that the subscriber or Declarer doth not by these words, profess that he himself is [*undoubtedly certain*] of the salvation of all dying Baptized Infants; but only that the thing is *certainly revealed* to be so in Gods Word. But others say, that both objective and subjective (or personal) *certainty* must needs be meant: And that it were too hard an imputation to say that the Church commandeth *uncertain, doubting* men to profess that the thing is *certain* and *undoubted* of; for how can they tell that it is so? And if they know it not to be so, why should they declare it to be so? The meaning is not [*I declare that the Convocation saith it is certain*;] for that were but the part of a cryer or reader: Nor is it *I declare that it is certain to others, though not to me.*] For no man knoweth anothers certainty; Therefore it must mean that [*I am certain* and *past doubt by the Word of God*] or [*I see ascertaining evidence in Gods Word putting* it past *doubt.*] So that no *uncertain* or *doubting* person can truly thus declare or subscribe.

8. Divers of those Divines who are furthest from the Nonconformists, hold that by the Scripture alone we cannot prove that Infants are at all to be Baptized; and the *jus Baptismi* must be

be proved before the *salvation* of the Baptized as such: Others think it hard for that man to be *certain* by the *Word* of God that all Baptized dying Infants are *saved*, who is not certain by that word that *any Infants* should be *Baptized*.

9. Many of the most rash or self-conceited, Ignorant men are readier to profess [*undoubted certainty*] than they that are more humble, and know much more than they. And it is not he that *Hath* most *certainty* who is now capable of the Ministry, but he that *dare profess most*, whether he have it or not.

10. They that shew less Learning, especially less knowledge in the Scripture, far than many that dare not profess this *undoubted certainty*, are not like to be more *certain* then they in this particular Article of faith.

11. We take it for *Arrogance* and Fanaticism in the Pope and his Council to pretend Infallible certainty by a *peculiar priviledge*, in those points in which they are unstudyed and unlearned, as if they knew them by prophetical inspiration. And when young unstudyed men have in this point attained to an [*undoubted certainty*] which their wiser seniors cannot attain, it behoveth them to convince us of the truth of their Inspiration or special endowments, either by a proportionable excellency above us in other things, or by some Miracles or Testimonies from Heaven.

12. There is no one *Word of God* cited in the Rubrick which tells us that *It is certain by the Word of God.*

13. *Among* Christian Divines there are all these various opinions about the salvation of Infants.

1. Some

1. Some hold that the Covenant being to the *faithful* and their *ſeed*, and their children being *holy*, all the children of ſincere Chriſtians are certainly in a ſtate of ſalvation, being by the parents intentionally dedicated to God before or without Baptiſm: And that Baptiſm is but their ſolemn inveſtiture in that ſtate which was theirs by right before.

2. Others think that this right to ſalvation belongeth to the Children of all profeſſed Chriſtians godly and ungodly,

3 Others think that it belongeth to all Infants in the world.

4. Others think that it belongeth only to ſincere believers Children that are Baptized.

5. Others, that it belongeth to ſound and unſound Chriſtians baptized Infants.

6. Others that it belongeth to all Baptized Infants whoſe ſoever.

7. Others hold that it belongeth alſo to the Children of ſincere Adopters or Proprieters.

8. Others that it belongeth to ſuch as even bad Chriſtians adopt or own.

9. Others that they that have ſincere *Godfathers*, though not *Proprieters*, are ſaved.

10. Others that even *unſound* or *hypocritical* Chriſtian Godfathers, may ſuffice to their ſalvation.

11. Others that the Miniſters or the Churches ſincere (or profeſſed) Faith is hereto ſufficient.

12. And others think that only the *Elect* are ſaved, of whom ſome are baptized, and ſome unbaptized, but no man knoweth who they are. Out of all theſe Opinions the Convocation hath choſen one, as an Article of Faith of *undoubted Certainty* by the Word of God. 13. The

13. The Nonconformists know of no Word of God which *ascertaineth Salvation* to any known determinate Infants, but the great Covenant of Grace, [*I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed*;] which seed God useth as if they were parts of the Parents, *Exod.* 34. 6, 7. and second Commandment: And saith to Believers [*Else were your children unclean*; but now, &c.

14. Many Divines say, that *Faith it self hath not evidence*; (though we think that it hath *evidence* of the Truth of the *Revelation*, though the thing revealed be not *visible or evident* in it self:) And more confess that [*undoubted certainty*] is not Essential to the saving belief of Christ, and of a life to come: And that true Faith may be saving, though weak: And that Christ silenced not his Disciples when he reproved the weakness of their Faith: And that to doubt of this Article about Infants is not so dangerous as to doubt of Christ or Heaven.

IX. All Ministers must *deny Baptism* to those Infants that have no such Godfathers and Godmothers as aforesaid, though their Parents be true Christians, and offer them to Baptism. For this is the only order or form of Baptizing there described, all other is forbidden, and we subscribe to *use no other form in administration of the Sacraments*. 2. Yet some Conformists say, that the Book bindeth them to *do thus*, but not to omit it, and baptize no otherwise. But others of them say, 1. That the Rubrick determineth that [*for every child to be baptized, there shall be three as Godfathers and Godmothers*] and that the whole Office respecteth them as Parties, and speaketh to them, and admitteth no Parent to speak; and

that

that if *Assenting to, Approving and Consenting to this form and Rubrick,* and subscribing a Covenant to *use no other form,* signifie not that *we will use no other,* no words can bind such equivocators. 3. In the sense of the Liturgy, to put Infants from Baptism, is to deny them *Christendom, membership of Christ, to be children of God, and to be heirs of Heaven*: For the Catechism saith, that we are *made* such in *Baptism,* which with the Rubrick which denyeth them Christian burial, and that last mentioned which affirmeth the *undoubted salvation of the baptized,* import a denying salvation to all that have not such Godfathers, without Parents sponsion: or at least a denying them [*certainty of undoubted salvation*] when it was in the power of the Convocation or Priest to have given them such certainty. 4. The Conformists do not affirm (that we know of) that any word of God doth institute or command the use of such Godfathers, or the foredescribed exclusion of the Parents, much less both: And least of all that it maketh these necessary to Christendom and Salvation, yea or Church-reception: But it is used as a Tradition or Law of men. 5. The Nonconformists therefore dare neither Assent to, Approve, Consent to, Covenant, or Practice the refusal of the Children of true Christians from Baptism, the Church and Salvation, on such a cause as this. 6. The Anabaptists hence are hardened, and say, that if Infants may be denied Baptism, till they have such Godfathers as God never instituted they have no right to it at all, and they may deny it them till we prove God's institution of Godfathers; especially where their title is laid upon such Godfathers.

thers. 7. Some say that *It is not the Minister that refuseth them, but the Church which maketh the Law*: But others say, that it is both the Lawmakers, and the *Minister*, unless we could prove that *Baptizing* and judging whom to Baptize is none of the Ministers office, no nor the Bishops; but that the Priest is to baptize all, and only such as the Law or Convocation bids him baptize, as a meer executioner, and the Bishop also such as he is appointed by the same Law. That else the same Rule would hold for his Preaching, Praying, &c.

X. The like proofs (which we need not repeat) will shew, that no Minister must baptize any person, Infant or Adult, without the transient Image of a Cross, and that to this we must assent and consent, and subscribe to baptize in no other form.

2. And the same reasons aforegiven shew how great a penalty this is, as excluding them from Christendom and Salvation in the Churches judgment, or from certainty at least.

3. Some Conformists say here also, that they assent only to baptize with the Cross, but not to baptize no otherwise: But others of them reprove this exposition from the Rubrick, and the aforecited Canonical Subscription, as that which would leave the Priest at liberty to do almost what he list, when the Church thinks that they have obliged him, and his Subscription hath secured his Obedience.

4. And some of them say, that it is not the Priest that refuseth them, for he would Baptize them (with the Cross) if the parent *sent the Child* or the *Adult person came*. But we need not

strive

ſtrive about the word: The *thing* we are agreed of, *viz.* That the Prieſt conſenteth not to Baptize them, who dare not receive it with the uſe of the Croſs: Whether this be to be called a *rejecting them*, or *denying* them Baptiſm, unleſs they will be ſo croſſed, we need not call for extraordinaty accurateneſs to judge.

5. No Conformiſts do pretend that this uſe of this Image of the Croſs, is of divine inſtitution: But all confeſs that *Baptiſm* is of divine inſtitution; and that Chriſt hath Commanded *Math.* 28. 19. 20. That they that are *diſcipled ſhould be Baptized*; and that one may be a *diſciple of* Chriſt, without the Image of the Croſs:

6. Some of the Nonconformiſts hold their uſe of the Croſs it ſelf here unlawful: But others that would venture to uſe it rather than be ſilenced, yet fear the guilt of *denying Baptiſm, Chriſtendom* and *certain ſalvation* (as the Church judgeth) to all that dare not receive it, or preſent their Children to receive it; believing that murdering natural life is a leſs hurt than undoing ſouls.

7. But *Covenanting by deliberate ſubſcription* and *declaration* to do it, how oft ſoever, they fear more than the actual doing of it rarely; not daring to do their part to damn the Children of all that are againſt Baptizing with the Croſs, nor all the unbaptized adult that are of that opinion.

XI. And as they fear rejecting ſuch as will not be ſo Croſt, from Baptiſm: ſo they much fear the *Engliſh uſe of the Croſs* themſelves; and that much more than Croſſing our ſelves on ordinary occaſions, or ſetting up Croſſes on our doors or Churches or by the high waies; and yet much

more than they fear such using of the Cross as *Augustine de Civ. Dei*, and other ancients mention, as an open Indication to Heathens that we are not ashamed of a Crucified Christ: Much less are they against civil uses of a Cross.

2. The name [*Sacrament*] signifying primarily any *solemnization of a Covenant by Oath and Ceremony* (as the *sacramentum militare* among the Romans) especially a Covenant which engageth one in a new relation, and more largely any *sacred mystical Ceremony*, the question here is *whether the Cross be not made* (not only a *sacrament in a larger sense*, as *ordination* and *Matrimony* may be called *sacraments*) but even a *sacrament of the Covenant of grace*, or so *very neer it* as to have the greatest part of that sacramental nature.

3. The Church Catechism defineth a Divine "sacrament thus, (*An outward and visible "sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, "ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we "receive the same, and a pledge to assure us there-"of.

4. That it be *ordained by Christ himself* is not essential to a *sacrament* in *genere*, but to a sacrament of *Gods making* in *specie* as distinct from one thats made by man; as is evident in the reason of the name.

5. The true nature of this Crossing is known by the Liturgy, 2. And the Canon. 1. The Liturgy appointeth it to be used *at Baptism*, not as a *part* of our Baptism, but as a *thing added*, immediately after the words [I *Baptize thee &c.*] even in our Covenanting with God: 2. It thus describeth and appointeth it, [*we receive*

"*this*

" *this Child into* the *Congregation of Chriſts flock,*
" *(here the Prieſt ſhall make a Croſs upon* the
" *forehead) and do ſign him with the ſign of the*
" *Croſs, in token that hereafter he ſhall not be*
" *aſhamed to confeſs the faith of Chriſt Crucified,*
" *and manfully to fight under his banner, againſt*
" *ſin, the world and the devil: and to continue*
" *Chriſts faithful ſervant and ſouldier unto his lives*
" *end, Amen.*

2. The Rubrick to which we Aſſent and Conſent, referreth us to the 30th Canon, as giving us *the true explication thereof, and the juſt* " *reaſons, &c.* The Canon ſaith [*Chriſtians ſigned* " *their Children therewith when they were Chriſtned,* " *to dedicate them by that badge to his ſervice,* " *whoſe benefits beſtowed on them in Baptiſm the* " *name of the Croſs did repreſent.*] *The Church* " *of England accounteth it a lawful outward* " *Ceremony, and honourable badge, whereby the In-* " *fant is dedicated to the ſervice of him that dyed* " *on the Croſs, as by the words uſed in the Common* " *Prayer it may appear.*

3. *The Liturgy's Preface of Ceremonies ſaith* " [*that they ſerve to a godly diſcipline, and are* " *ſuch as be apt to ſtir up the dull mind of man, to* " *the remembrance of his duty to God by ſome* " *notable and ſpecial ſignification, whereby he might* " *be edifyed.*]

4. We ſuppoſe that here 1. The ſign is the *tranſient Image of the Croſs uſed in Gods ſervice.* 2. The particular ſervice in which it is uſed, is our *Baptiſmal Covenanting with God* : 3. The thing ſignified by the ſign it ſelf is the *Croſs,* and paſſion of Chriſt. 4. The thing ſignified by the *Receiving of it* is, that we do as Covenanters

profess and oblige our selves not to be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ Crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world and the Devil, and to continue Christs faithful servants and souldiers to our lives end. And that by *this* we are dedicated to God; And that we take it as an honourable badge hereof. 5. Note that the *Minister* speaketh as *Gods Officer from him*, and doth not represent the *Child*, nor speak as *in his name*; that being the part assigned to the *Godfathers*; And the thing signified by him in his using this sign is, that he doth as Christs Minister *dedicate him by this sign, to the service of him that dyed on the Cross, the name whereof represents the benefits bestowed on him in Baptism*, (which are all the benefits of that Covenant) and to oblige him to this end, not to be *ashamed* to *confess the faith* of *Christ Crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner* (as aforesaid;) And that this be a *badge* or symbol of his Christian profession.

5. The great fear of the Nonconformists is, lest this be a second sacrament of the Covenant of graee made by man added to Baptism, or at least have most of the nature and uses of it; And lest Christ will take it as an invasion of his prerogative so to use it, and to make a *new badge or symbol* of our Christianity; As the King would take it ill of one that would without him, make a badge or symbol for his subjects as subjects, or of the order of the Knights of the Garter as such. And the rather, because it is the *use of an Image*, (though transient) in *Gods Worship*, and to such high ends.

XII. The Rubrick which we must Assent, Approve and consent to, *saith*, that [*There shall*

n ne

none be admitted to the holy Communion, till such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed,] that is, In the manner prescribed by the Liturgy. This, as it concerneth the Conformity of the Lay-receiver, is spoken of before. But now as it concerneth the Ministers Assent and Consent. 2. Some that take this for a very useful passage, as it enableth them to hold back some uncapable persons, dare not approve it, and consent to it, as it denieth the Church Communion which Christ *giveth & commandeth,* to persons of unblemished uprightness and piety, if they will not profess themselves *willing to be confirmed by our Bishops* in the manner before described; though they are willing to own their Baptismal Covenant; and few in most places are confirmed.

XIII. The Liturgy saith, that [*No man should come to the holy Communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and a quiet Conscience.*] To which we must declare *Assent, Appprobation* and *Consent.*

2. The sense of these words remaineth dubious, whether it speak *de necessitate præcepti, vel medii*: Some think that the meaning is, that it is the *Duty of all* that come to the Communion, to have a full trust, and a quiet Conscience: Others think that the meaning is only, that all should *seek these*: Others think that the meaning is, that *they should not come without them.* Their reasons are, 1. From the plain signification of the words: [*No man should come but with, &c.*] which must differ from [*They that come ought to be such*] 2. Because the *necessitas præcepti* may be affirmed of *perfect obedience* since our use of reason: It is every mans duty not to sin at all: And it is

every mans duty to believe, and love God, not only sincerely but with a stronger Faith and Love; and its every mans duty to seek after perfection: And yet no man will say that we should not come to the Communion, but with high degrees of grace, or with perfection. 3. And the words are not that they *should seek it*, but that they should not come without it.

3. The Nonconformists confess that all men ought to have *a full Trust*, and *a quiet Conscience*: But they think that many 1000 good Christians have but *a weak Faith or Trust*, and an *unquiet Conscience*: And that the Eucharist is a *Confirming* and *Comforting Sacrament*, and that those that have a *weak Trust*, and *unquiet Conscience*, should come for strengthening and comfort, and be encouraged to come.

4. Therefore seeing no entreaty will prevail with the Imposers after so many years time to explain these, and many other such words, they think that the usual sense of such words must be the measure of their exposition; and therefore they dare not profess Assent, and Approbation, and Consent, till they are better explained to them.

XIV. The Liturgy requireth that the Priest deliver the *Communion to the people into their hands, All meekly kneeling.*

2. The 27th. Canon saith, [*No Minister shall wittingly administer the same to any, but to such as kneel, under pain of Suspension.*

3. The Conformists differ among themselves about the sense of the Liturgy herein, *viz.* whether [*All kneeling*] include a prohibition to deliver it to any that kneel not: some say *No*: that it

it only bids them give it to such as kneel, but not to deny it others, though the Canon do. Others say, yea that it requireth us to give it to no others. Their reasons are 1. Because else the precept signified nothing, if men were after it left at liberty. 2. Because [*All*] plainly excludeth others. 3. Because the Canon being the decrees of the same Church, expoundeth the Liturgy; and it is absurd to say that their Rubrick leaveth the Minister at Liberty to do that same thing for which the Canon suspendeth him. 4. Because we must also subscribe *that we will use no other form of administration, but that of the Liturgy*; which Reasons we judge to be cogent.

4. The Nonconformists differ among themselves about kneeling; some taking it to be sinfully scandalous on the reasons before given; and some taking it for lawful. But they commonly hold that it is sinfull, cruelty and Schism for them as Ministers to cast any true Christians out of Christ's Church and Communion of Saints, and to deny them the body and blood of Christ, which he hath commanded his Church to deliver and receive, on so small a reason as this *not kneeling*: 1. Considering the three reasons which are before mentioned as the cause of their doubt. 2. And that the Holy Ghost *Rom.* 14. commandeth both Pastors and People to bear with, and receive each other, notwithstanding such kind of differences: 3. And that good mens judgments in such cases are not in their own power: 4. And that to tie Communion to such doubtful Circumstances will certainly cause Schism; and such doings have long distracted Christ's Churches through the world. 5. And

Christ hath commanded all his true Disciples to live in loving concord and communion: But kneelers and not kneelers are his true Disciples: 6. And men must not be cast out of the Churches Communion even for gross and heinous sins, unless they add obstinate impenitency. Therefore they dare not Assent, Approve, Consent to, or Practice, this rejecting of godly Christians for not kneeling in the act of receiving, from those priviledges which Christ by his testament hath given them.

XV. By the Liturgy *every Parishioner* is to *communicate twice a year*, and by the Canon and statute to be compelled so to do: and the Churchwarden to present them that do not. And those that do not in a certain time, are to be *EXCOMMUNICATED*, and after laid in Gaol during life, unless they conform. To the Liturgies Imposition we must profess Assent, &c.

2. Not every Parishioner (yea in our experience not one of many) hath a full trust in *God's Mercy*, and a *quiet Conscience*, without both which they are not to come.

3. Many *good Christians* have so great a sense of their sins and unworthiness, that they *dare* not communicate till they are fitter: And some are so timerous and melancholy, that hearing the Liturgy threaten men to be given up to the Devil, and eat and drink their own damnation, if they eat and drink unworthily, it would drive them by fear into distraction should they take it, till they have better thoughts of their title and preparations; so that their dilemma is sad, when they are either to go to *Bedlam*, or to the common Gaol.

4. To

4. To say that all these doubting and timerous people *should* be otherwise minded, and that this is *their errour*, is true, but as impertinent, as it is to tell all men that they should *never sin* or all ignorant carnall ungodly men that they *should be wise and godly*: But to conclude that men should receive the sacrament, because they *ought to be prepared*, though they *are not prepared*, is somewhat like telling the sick that they should work and eat, as they ought to have done if by intemperance they had not disabled themselves.

5. There are many among us who are conscious of Infidelity, Atheism, Sadduceism and Heresie, and some of many secret heinous sins: some of these in their hearts deride Christianity and the sacrament; And the other are afraid of increasing their damnation: But yet do not make known their sin: But it is notorious that abundance of such there be: And the doubt is whether these should be compelled to the sacrament thrice a year.

6. The Nonconformists hold, that to deliver a man, that sacrament, is to deliver him the body and blood of Christ, and therewith a sealed pardon of sin, and guift of life eternal; And they think that the terms on which these are to be received, are [*wholly devoting our selves to Christ, denying all, and taking up our Cross and following him.* And therefore that to say [*Receive the sacrament, or lie in a Gaol*] seemeth much to alter the terms of the Gospel, which saith [*If thou canst not suffer a Gaol for Christ, thou art unworthy of him.* It is he that can forsake all for Christ, that is fit for the sacrament, aud not he that would not Communicate without the fear of a prison

priſon or other puniſhment. To give the ſacrament, is to give more than all the riches of the world, which none but volunteers and deſirers are fit for.

7. The ancient Churches made delinquents long beg for ſuch great priviledges and gifts, knowing that to give them to thoſe that are unwilling, is to ſubvert the Goſpel. But they never ſaid [*Receive them or go to Gaol.*]

8. Were it but granted in *England* that the great *gift of Chriſts body and blood, and holy Communion ſhould be adminiſtred and received freely, that is, only given by and to voluntary agents and receivers*, it would heal almoſt all the Engliſh differences, between Epiſcopal, Presbyterians and Independents.

9. Yet the Nonconformiſts are not againſt the encouraging of Communicants by ſpecial favours, nor the prudent compelling of Ignorant men to *hear* the truth, nor the hindering of pernicious hereſies moderately. But the foreſaid compulſion of all Pariſhioners they dare not Approve.

XVI. The Miniſter according to the Liturgy is himſelf to give the Euchariſt to many, to whom the Nonconformiſts dare not give it: For they muſt give it thrice a year to all the Pariſhioners, except ſuch as are proved (to him that hath no power to examine them or witneſſes) to be in malice towards others, or to be in any ſcandalous ſin, and that but for that time, till they are accuſed and acquit, or ſtill permitted, *viz.* 1. They muſt give it to many that *conſent not to be any part of their charge*, nor take them for *their Paſtors*, but bid them deny them the Sacrament

ment if they dare, though they consent not to the relation. 2. They must give it to multitudes of the *grossly ignorant*, who know not the essentials of Christianity or the Sacrament, nor will come to them to be taught: When by fame, yea or personal knowledge, they know them to be such, yet without proof (nor we think with proof) they cannot refuse them. 3. It is known that Infidels and deriders of Scripture and mans Immortal state, do swarm more amorg us. And yet they must all Communicate till we can bring proof of it against particular persons: When few men that report it will accuse their neighbours and prove the accusation for fear of their displeasure: 4. We must give it to all the ungodly that are dismist by a Lay-Chancellour after accusation, 5. We must give it to all that are *unwilling* to *receive* it, sobeit they had rather take it than lie in a Gaol and be undone. 3 On these terms the Nonconformists dare not Assent, Consent to and Approve the giving of it as is prescribed. 4. It is confessed that compelled Receiving is not commanded by Christ, nor was used by the Church, for many hundred years, even after Emperours were Christians.

XVII. The Liturgy requireth Ministers at Burial, to use these words, importing the salvation of the person: [*Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy, to take to himself the soul of our dear Brother, here departed*] And [*We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out of the miseries of this sinful world*] And [*That we may rest in him as our hope is this our Brother doth.*]

2. The Conformists are not agreed of the sense of

of these words: One sort of them say, that all these words import not the salvation of the person: But the rest have more ingenuity, and confess that else the words are not intelligible, and that such equivocation is not tolerable.

3. Some of them say that these passages are good, supposing Discipline well exercised; which if it be not, it is not the fault of the Liturgy. But others consider that 1. We know that Discipline *is not so* exercised as they suppose: 2. And that these passages are not to be approved and used whether Discipline be so exercised or not: The meaning is not [*I approve of this where Discipline is well exercised.*] 3. It is known that the Bishops will not have every Priest to be Judge.

4. The Canon (which is the work of the same Church) thus expoundeth the Churches meaning; Can. 14. [*All Ministers shall observe the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures, and saying of Prayers, as in administration of the Sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of Preaching, or in any other respect; or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof.*] (This also concerneth most of the cases before instanced in, as Expositions of the Churches meaning.)

5. And Can. 68. its said [*No Minister shall refuse or delay to bury any Corps that is brought---in such manner and form as is prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer*: And if he shall refuse ---to bury *such, except the party deceased were denounced excommunicated Majori Excommunicatione, for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testifie of his repentance, he shall be suspended by the Bishop.* 6. The

6. The new Edition of the Liturgy increaſeth the exceptions thus[*The Office enſuing is not to be uſed for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or that have laid violent hands on themſelves.*]

7. Note 1. That many children of good Chriſtians by ſurprize die unbaptized: 2. Many godly ſober perſons are excommunicated for ſome point of Nonconformity: 3. Some upright Chriſtians in phrenſies, melancholies and diſtractions make away themſelves.

8. Note, That Atheiſts, Infidels, Sadduces, Blaſphemers, Whoremongers, &c. ſwarm now among us, and we rarely hear of any one of theſe multitudes that are excommunicated; ſo that they are not *excepted.*

9. It cannot be denyed, that *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*: ſo that no other muſt be excepted.

10. It is known that all *England* conſiſts of all the Individuals, and all the people are all *England.*

11. We commonly Preach that without Faith and Holineſs none ſhall ſee God; and that Whoremongers, Drunkards, &c. cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

12. Therefore either we conſent to pronounce almoſt all ſuch to be ſaved (at a time when our words take the deepeſt impreſſion,) or elſe more *exceptions* muſt be made.

13. Some ſay that the *Excommunicable* are included in the *Excommunicated*; But the Canon and the expreſs words of the Liturgy, and the Churches abhorrence that the Prieſt ſhall be Judge, do ſo notoriouſly confute this bold aſſertion, that by ſuch ſtretches almoſt any thing may be ſaid or ſworn, and it ſhall not be known by authority, when, or how far any Subject is obliged by Covenants or Oaths.

XVIII. The Liturgy requireth [*that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained and in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the 2d. Year of Ed. 6.*

2. The Canon of the same Church expoundeth their meaning *cap.* 58. Thus [*every Minister saying the publick prayers or Ministring the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely Surplice &c.*

3. We suppose in the 2d. of King *Ed. 6.* The Cope, Alb and other vestments were in use, which seem forbidden by the Common-Prayer Book in the 5th. and 6th. of *Ed. 6.*

4. The Conformists agree not of the sense of this Rubrick, 1. Whether all these are hereby reduced or not. 2. Whether it forbid all Ministers to officiate without a Surplice, or only Command the use of it, without an implyed penalty: But the words, and the forecited Canons shew that the Church intended an exclusion of all that will not use it: And we must subscribe to administer in no other form.

5. The Nonconformists differ about the Surplice; some taking it to be Lawful, and others to be unlawful: But they Commonly hold that Preaching Christs Gospel is commanded by God, and that Ministers by their ordination are obliged to do the work of that Office, and that Surplices are not commanded by God; and therefore, if a man mistakingly should take the use of the Surplice to be sinful, he should not therefore be *ejected and silenced*: And therefore they dare not declare Approbation and Consent to the Rubrick

or

or subscribed form in the Canon which implyeth this restraint.

XIX. The Damnatory sentences in the Creed called *Athanasius*'s, are to be Assented, Approved and Consented to.

2. If they referred but to the Doctrine of the Trinity, and not to the particulars of that explication, it would not be excepted against: But some R. Reverend Conformists do profess that those sentences are *untrue*, and not to be approved.

3. But such think that the Churches meaning is not to require us to *Assent or Approve them as true*, but only to *Consent* to *use* them: And they prove it, because the same Church requireth us to *Read* the Books of *Tobit*, &c. which have palpable untruths, and not to believe them to be true.

4. But that reason seemeth null and vain; 1. Because the *Apocrypha* is no part of the Book to which we must Profess Assent, Approbation and Consent, nor to which by the Canon we must *ex animo* subscribe, that there *is nothing in it contrary to the Word of God*. But *Athanasius*'s Creed, with those damnatory sentences are part of that Book. Indeed the Liturgy requireth us to read those Apocryphal untruths, but they are no part of the Book: 2. And it being not the sense of the Liturgy, but of a Statute of Parliament, which we here doubt of, it seemeth insufficient, if not impertinent, to tell us what is taken for the sense of *the Church*; for the doubt is *What is the sense of the Parliament*, which we can no otherwise know but by the *plain words*, till they will otherwise declare their meaning.

5. And indeed if the passages in *Tobit*, which some Reverend Bishops call Lies (about the Angel's

Angel's saying that he was the Son of *Ananias*, of the Tribe of *Napthali*, and the fishes driving away all Devils, that they shall never return) were *but to be read*, we know not how to approve of that Law, Calendar or Rubrick, that commandeth such reading of them. But yet that is much less than the Assent required to *Athanasius*'s Creed; which yet we take (save those damnatory sentences) to be the best explication of the Mystery of the sacred Trinity, which in so short a summe is extant in the Church.

XX. The Liturgy saith [*All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause. And the Curate that ministreth in every Parish-Church or Chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindred, shall say the same in the Parish-Church or Chapel where he ministreth, &c.*

2. The Conformists agree not of the sense of this; some think that the ordinary incommodities of such a commanded use, may pass as those *hinderances* or *urgent causes* mentioned in the exceptions: But the more plain and ingenuous dealers hold, that the *urgent causes* and *hinderances* here mentioned, must be somewhat *extraordinary*, and not any thing which is the usual case of most Ministers.

3. Cathedrals and some other Churches have many Priests and Deacons of whom one only can daily officiate in publick. And many are Chaplains in such mens houses as will have other free prayers used. And most Ministers have great and necessary work to do, which must all be left undone, while the Common-Prayer is said

ſaid over by them twice a day. They have Sermons to ſtudy, many Books to read, that they may be furniſhed with neceſſary knowledge for their work: They have abundance of ignorant pariſhioners to inſtruct, exhort or comfort; They have the ſick to viſit, the dead to bury, the Sacraments to adminiſter, families to govern, inſtruct and provide for. And many find free prayer from the immediate ſenſe of their caſe and wants, to be ſo profitable to them that they cannot ſpare it: All which and more require the the ſtricteſt improvement of every minute of their time: And if the Liturgy be read over by every Prieſt and Deacon twice a day, it is certain that much of theſe aforeſaid muſt be omitted. And it is a great part of our Chriſtian duty, when two good things come together, to chooſe that which *hic et nunc* is the greater; to chooſe the leſſer then being a ſin.

4. Therefore the Nonconformiſts dare not Aſſent, Approve and Conſent to the tying of every Prieſt and Deacon ordinarily to read over the Liturgy twice every day. And they are the more averſe to ſuch Approbation by ſeeing ſo very few Conformiſts, Comparatively, to practice this themſelves; which ſheweth that they take it to be unlawful; ſeeing it is their judgement that our Rulers muſt be obeyed *in all* things which are lawful to be ſo done. And if they that make ſuch declarations of Approbation think it unlawful ordinarily to keep them, we may doubt whether it be lawful ſo to *make* them, as is required of us.

5. If God ask us why we did not teach our families, viſit the ſick, inſtruct ignorant neighbours

bours, ſtudy better for to diſcharge our Miniſterial work, that we might be men of knowledge, and ſuch like, the doubt is whether it will paſs for a good anſwer to ſay, we had not time, becauſe we muſt twice a day read the Common-Prayer.

XXI. Aſſenting, Approving and Conſenting to *all* things, even to all forms, orders, &c. includeth *the order of the Liturgy*. Two Rules of the *order of Prayer* are commonly acknowledged 1. The *nature and order of the matter* to be expreſſed. 2 The *Lords Prayer* as a directory delivered by Chriſt.

2. The Nonconformiſts that think that for the main there is nothing but good contained in moſt of the Prayers of the Liturgy; yet think that they are greatly *diſordered* and *defective*; neither formed according to the order of *matter*, nor of the *Lords Prayer*, but like an immethodical Sermon, which is unſuitable to the high ſubjects and honourable work of holy worſhip.

3. They have oft offered, whenever it will be well taken, to give in a Catalogue of the *diſorders* and *defects* of the Liturgy: Which yet they think it lawful to uſe, in *obedience*, or for *unity*, or when no better may be uſed: But not to *approve* of ſuch *diſorder*; as we do not *approve* of the failings of any of our own duties, though we are daily guilty of them unwillingly.

XXII. The Preface to the Book of Ordination ſaith, that ["*It is evident to all men diligently* "*reading holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that* '*from the Apoſtles time there have been theſe* "*ORDERS in Chriſt's Church, Biſhops, Prieſts* "*and Deacons, as ſeveral OFFICES*; which are

are repeated oft in the Collects at Ordination: To this all must Assent and Consent.

2. Some of us are conscious that we have *diligently read the holy Scriptures and ancient Authors*, and yet three ORDERS and OFFICES are not evident to us.

3. We have great reason to believe that *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many more Reformers, *Blondell*, *Salmatius*, *Robert Parker*, *Gerson*, *Bucer*, *Calderwood*, *Cartwright*, *John Reynolds*, *Ames*, *Ainsworth*, and multitudes of such Protestants, did diligently read both Scriptures and Ancients: As also Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Bishop *Edw. Reynolds*, and many such, who thought that Scripture instituted no particular forms of Government: As also *Armachanus*, and many other Papists, who think that Bishops and Priests do not differ *ordine*, but *gradu*, which the R. Reverend Archbishop *Usher* ordinarily professed: We cannot assert that none of these diligently read Scripture or ancient Authors.

4 But especially when we find that even the ancient Church of *England* was of another mind, as is legible in the Canons of *Ælfrick* to *Wulfine* in *Spelman*, pag. 573. 576. which conclude that (in the old large sense) there were *but seven Ecclesiastical Orders or Degrees, and that the Bishops and Presbyters are not two, but one*: *Haud pluris interest inter Missalem Presbyterum & Episcopum, quam quod Episcopus constitutus sit ad ordinationes conferendas, & ad visitandum seu inspiciendum curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent, quod nimiæ crederetur multitudini si omnis Presbyter hoc idem faceret. Ambo siquidem UNUM tenent EUNDEMQUE ORDI-*

NEM, quamvis dignior sit illa pars Episcopi.] 18. *Non est alius* ORDO *constitutus in Ecclesiasticis Ministeriis, &c. Et Leg. Canuti*, p. 551. *Pastores vocamus Episcopos & Sacerdotes, quorum partes sunt eruditione atque doctrina gregem Domini speculari ac defendere*, &c.

5. And Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath proved by sufficient evidence, that the same was the judgment of Archbishop *Cranmer*, and other Reformers of the Church of *England*. And it is the judgment of some of our Bishops and Conformists now. All which we speak not to shew which side we think to be in the right; but that the state of the question is, *Whether we can assent to this as true, and approve and consent that it be used*, as is appointed, [*That it's evident to all men diligently reading*, &c. that *de facto* there were three *ORDERS* and *Offices* from the *Apostles times*.

XXIII. The ordering of Priests requireth the Bishop to speak to the people at the Ordination of Priests, calling them [*to come forth in the name of God, and shew what crime or impediment they know in the persons to be ordained, &c.*] In *imitation* of the ancient Churches, when the Congregation over which they were set, had their voice in his election or reception.

2. The doubt is, whether such a solemn invitation, as in God's name, be not too *vain* to be *Assented*, and *Approved*, and *Consented* to, in a Church, where the people over whom he is set, never use to be present, nor invited to it, nor have any notice of it, or any call to meddle therein; being usually many miles, and often many score miles distant; nor any other people called to that work; and rarely any people there

there that have any knowledge of the man and his converſation.

XXIV. The Ordaining of Prieſts, and the Conſecration of Biſhops both uſe theſe words as concerning the Office [*Receive the Holy Ghoſt for the Office and work of a Prieſt, of a Biſhop, &c.*]

2. It is not doubted but that the Holy Ghoſt muſt ſet Paſtors over the Flocks; 1. By qualifying men for the Office, and making them deſirous of it: Both *Grace, Ability* and *Willingneſs* are of him: 2. By giving the Ordainers a diſcerning skill to know whom to ordain: 3. By giving the flock a diſcerning and a willing mind. We yet know not of any other Collation of the Holy Ghoſt, which Ordination can make. Nor know we that in any of theſe ſenſes theſe words can be well underſtood: For 1. *Grace, Gifts* and *Willingneſs*, are the *diſpoſitio recipientis* preſuppoſed: we ſee not how it can be lawful to ordain him that ſeemeth not before to have them: what elſe are they examined about? Nor know we that God hath given any power to the *Ordainers* now, by the laying on of hands, to make an ungodly man godly, or an unlearned or ignorant man to be learned or wiſe, or a man of ill utterance to have a better tongue, or an unwilling man to be willing. The Apoſtles had a miraculous power of giving the Holy Ghoſt for extraordinary works, and for abilities ſuddenly infuſed; and they did it: we never knew of any in our age that did it; and therefore ſuppoſe that they have no promiſe or power ſo to do. 2. And to give a diſcerning skill to the Ordainers; 3. Or to give a diſcerning or willing mind to the people, are neither of them a giving

the Holy Ghoſt to the Prieſt. The doubt is, whether this be not an abuſe of the words which Chriſt himſelf or his Apoſtles uſed, and ſo not to be aſſented to, approved and conſented to.

3. Yet is it not denyed, but that Miniſterial *Authority* is given by the ordainers as Miniſters, Deliverers or Inveſters: But *Authority* is not the *Holy Ghoſt* ſo called.

4. Nor is it denyed but that as Father, Son, and *Holy Ghoſt* do enter into Covenant with us as *Chriſtians* in our baptiſm, ſo do they with Miniſters, as ſuch, in their ordination-covenant: But ſuch a Relation to the Holy Ghoſt as the Miniſters future helper in his work, cannot well be ſuppoſed to be all that is meant by the words [*Receive the Holy Ghoſt*,] both Scripture and common uſe taking them in another ſenſe.

XXV. This Oath in the Conſecration of Biſhops is to be taken by every Biſhop [*In the name of God Amen. I. N. Choſen Biſhop of the Church and See of N. do profeſs and promiſe all due reverence and obedience to the ArchBiſhop, and to the Metropolitical Church of N. and to their ſucceſſours, ſo help me God through Jeſus Chriſt.*

2 It is not pretended that any ſuch Oaths of obedience were inſtituted by Chriſt or his Apoſtles; or were uſed in the Churches for many hundred years, nor till the Papacy was riſing, which was furthered by ſuch Oaths.

3. They that ſuppoſe Biſhops to be ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles, cannot make them ſubjects to any other Eccleſiaſtical Rulers, without aſſerting that the Apoſtles were Governours over one another; which we find not that they do.

4. It

4. It was many hundred years before Arch-Bishops had any Governing power over Bishops, or exacted any obedience from them; being not *Episcopi Episcoporum* (as the Carthage Fathers in *Cyprian* professed.) But were only such as had the first seats and voices in the Synods.

5. The question therefore is, whether such Oaths, as necessary to a Bishops consecration, be to be Approved and contented to?

XXVI. An Oath of Canonical obedience also is put upon all that are made Priests and Deacons: And Priests at their ordination must make this Covenant, that they [*will reverently obey their Ordinary, and other chief Ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and Government over them.*]

2. The ordinary is not only the Bishop, but also the Chancellour, Officials, *Surrogates, Comissaries, Arch-Deacons*, and all that are Judges in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

3. to obey them that are thus *de facto set over* us, is no less than to obey them in the excercise of that power which is given them as so set over us.

4. The doubt is, whether they that take any of them to be Usurpers of an Ecclesiastical power, which indeed they have not (and can prove it to be so) should swear or Covenant obedience to them as such. *e. g.* It is commonly confessed by the Conformists that the true power of the Keys, of *excommunication* and *Absolution* is appropriated by Christ to the Clergy: And yet our Chancellours being lay men, do decretively excercise that power. The question is, may we swear or Covenant to obey them?

5. And seeing Christ never gave one Presbyter

the Government of others, as Archdeacons, Surrogates, Officials, &c. whether all the reſt may ſwear obedience to them, or Approve of and conſent to the uſe of ſuch Oaths? And divers Councils have condemned it as a dangerous practice for Biſhops to tie ſubject Presbyters to them by Oaths.

XXVII. Miniſters that live among the people have greateſt advantage to know the penitent from the impenitent.

2. But it is the foreſaid lay Chancellours, who uſually know nothing of them but by reports, that excommunicate and abſolve them. And the Pariſh-Miniſter muſt (as a cryer readeth a proclamation or ſentence of a Judge) openly read theſe excommunications and abſolutions.

3. Theſe excommunications muſt paſs according to the Canons, againſt all that ſhall affirm that [*there is any thing in the book of Common-Prayer repugnant to the Scripture or any of the* 39 *Articles erroneous*, or any of the *Rites and Ceremonies ſuch as he may not with a good conſcience ſubſcribe to, or that the Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Arch-Deacons and the reſt that bear Office in the Church of England, is repugnant to the word of God, or that any thing in the form and manner of making & conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts or Deacons is repugnant to the word of God, &c.*]

4. The preſent doubt is whether a Miniſter who knoweth ſuch of his Pariſh to be godly, peaceable men, whom the Chancellour decretively excommunicateth, may both openly read and declare ſuch excommunications and alſo ſwear or Covenant ſo to do, in obedience to the Ordinary. And whether when he knoweth that a wicked impe-

impenitent man is absolved, he may pronounce such absolutions.

XXVIII. The Oath of *Canonical obedience* seemeth to mean *obedience* according to the Canons: And he that Covenanteth to *obey his ordinary*, must be supposed to mean no less than [*According to the Canon Laws by which he is known to govern*,] and as Government thereby is excercised:

2. And if so, then there are more things in the Canons and present Government, which the Nonconformists dare not swear or Covenant to obey (besides those already named,) than we will now stand to enumerate.

XXIX. The Rubrick saith that [*the Minister who repelleth any from the Sacrament, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within* 14 *daies after, at the furthest*.

2. If all that by gross ignorance, Atheism, Infidelity, Sadducism, Heresie, Schism, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Stealing, Malice, &c. are uncapable of the Communion be presented to the Ordinary within 14 daies, no charity that is guided by knowledge of the common state of the people, can think, that in *London* Dioceſs there would be fewer than many score thousands presented at once. And in other Dioceſſes many score hundreds at least,

3. Some Ministers dwell a hundred Miles or neer from the Bishops. And the Bishops are divers of them so much at *London* or abroad, as that it cannot be expected that all these must be presented to the Bishop himself, but to the Chancellours court, as is usual.

4. The ChancellourſCourt is so far from most Ministers

Miniſters in the Land, and the proſecuting ſo many when proof is demanded, will be ſo chargeable and take up ſo much time, as that it will undo many poor Miniſters, that have ſcarce enough to maintain their families; and it will take up the time which they ſhould uſe in the neceſſary labours for their flocks.

5. The Chancellour is a lay man to whom they muſt be preſented: And the iſſue will be but a lay mans *excommunicating* them, if obſtinate; or abſolving them: Which is not juſtified by the Biſhops themſelves.

6. At the ſaid Chancellours court things are managed as at a civil judicature: There is not that endeavour to convince ſinners by Scripture, and to draw them to true Repentance, by humbling evidence, intreaties and prayers for them, as ſhould be for the ſaving of a ſoul from ſin: But the charges of the court fees, and the fears of a priſon after excommunication, maketh it an unacceptable and as unlikely means to convert men as the ſtocks.

7. Therefore for a miniſter to preſent all his Pariſhioners to ſuch courts, whom he is bound to deny the Sacrament to, were but to make him ſeem their greateſt and cruelleſt enemy, and to render him uncapable of ever (probably) profiting them by his Miniſtry any more; and conſequently, greatly to promote their damnation and make them almoſt hopeleſs as to recovery. And if by this terrour they tell the Chancellour that they *Repent*, how little ſatisfaction is that to the Miniſter, that never ſaw, himſelf, any ſigns of their repentance.

8. The doubt is then, whether the uſe of this Rubrick

Rubrick may be Approved and Conſented to.

9 Eſpecially conſidering that all the Pariſh who receive not thrice a year, (of which *Eaſter* muſt be one *for them all*) muſt be preſented to the ſaid ordinary, and alſo all that come not to Church; By which means divers Pariſhes about *London* muſt have ſome 10000, ſome 20000, ſome 30000, ſome 40000, or 50000, that have no room in the Church, all preſented if this Law were executed.

XXX We have reaſon to doubt whether the Act of Uniformity it ſelf be not part of the Books which we muſt ſubſcribe Aſſent and Conſent to; becauſe it is ſo ſaid in the Book it ſelf: The Contents of the Book are firſt named in general, and then this Act named among the Contents. Either it is part of the Contents, or it is not; if it be not, we muſt not aſſent and conſent to that falſhood (that it is;) If it be, O far be it from us that believe a God, a Judgment, and a life to come, and the ſacred Scriptures, to Aſſent and Conſent to that Act with all its penalties, ſilencing and ruining ſuch as conform not. One of us that was oft with the great, wiſe, juſt Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales*, hath heard him lamenting the Schiſms and diſcords of the Clergy, ſeriouſly ſay, that [*There was no right way to heal us, but by a New Act of Uniformity.*] (And hath his late Writings againſt laying Concord or Religion upon mens unneceſſary additions.) And the Reporter taketh not himſelf to be wiſer than him, nor meet to Aſſent and Conſent to ſuch a Law, conſidering the experience of theſe ſeventeen years, and the conſequents on mens divided and exaſperated minds,

upon

upon the Congregations, upon Miniſters and Families, and upon the ſtate and ſecurity of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Proteſtant Cauſe,&c. As to them that ſay that the *Act nameth the Book as diſtinct from it ſelf*; we anſwer, 1. So do the Titles of Acts of Parliament name the Act it ſelf as diſtinct from the Title, and yet we ſuppoſe that Title part of the Act. 2. The Book nameth the Act as part of its Contents, as is aforeſaid.

If we ſhould by miſtake think ſome of theſe paſſages to be unlawful that are not, or to have a worſe ſenſe than indeed they have, let theſe things be conſidered.

1. We judge as well as we are able; and whatever ſenſe another takes them in, we that ſo underſtand them cannot take them.

2. We judge of the ſenſe by the plain words; the force and ſtretch is not by us, but by thoſe that conform and contradict our ſenſe.

3. The Law-givers will not otherwiſe expound their own words, after 17 years waiting for it under Compulſive Executions: Certainly if they would have us underſtand their words contrary to common uſe, they would rather tell us ſo after ſeventeen years time, than ruine us, and forbear ſo eaſie a means to heal the Churches.

4. Some of us ſo highly value the excellent Prælections of Biſhop *Sanderſon de juramento*, and his judgment, againſt taking and expounding Oaths(and conſequently profeſſions and promiſes) in a ſtretched or a doubtful ſenſe, and his Counſel to refuſe them, when the ſenſe is doubtful, if the Rulers or Impoſers will not expound them

(though

(though they should bid us take them in our own sense;) with much more which he hath excellently said to such purposes, that we thankfully acknowledge that he hath much helpt for to fortifie us against the guilt of perjury, and falshood, and prophaning the holy name of God, and deceiving our Governours by equivocations and false expositions, and scandalously tempting others to perjury, lying, or such other sins.

We take an understanding, serious (and if it may be *publick*) owning of the Baptismal Covenant in age to be of so great moment to the reviting of true Christianity and the honour of Baptism and cure of Anabaptism, that it greatly grieveth us that we must despair of its effectual practise, when we meet with few that seem not to approve it. The words of a very Learned and Great Conformist Mr *Elderfield* of Baptism *pag.* 48. *marg.* We think worthy our recital.

"Upon score of like reason (saith he) whereto, "and for such after tryal, may have been taken "up in the Christian Church, that examination "which did sift the constancy or rather consistency "of those that had been taken in young, to "their presumed grounds, that if they wavered "they might be known and discharged, or if "they remained constant, they might by im-"position of hands receive what the Commoner "name of that Ceremony did import, of their "faith (at least a sign of) *Confirmation.* "*Vasquez* hath from *Erasmus* (in the Preface to "his Paraphrase on the Gospels) a word of most "wholsom grave and prudent advise, that those "who were Baptized young, when they begin "to write man, should be examined, *an ratum*

"*habeant*

" *habeant id quod in Catechismo ipsorum nomine pro-*
" *missum: Quod si ratum non habeant, ab Ecclesiæ*
" *jurisdictione liberos manere*; in 3. *p. Thom. disp.* 154.
" *To.* 2. *c.* 1 *sect.* 2. If they did then stand
" to what their sureties promised for them. If
" not they should be discarded. Most necessary!
" and of unimaginable benefit! Such a scrutiny
" would shake off thousands of rotten hypocrites,
" and purge the Church of many such Infidel
" believers or professours, upon whose dirty
" faces a little holy water was sprinkled when
" they knew not what it was; but they no more
" mind the true sanctification appertaining than
" the *Turks* or *Saracens* (who shall rise up in
" judgement against their washed filthiness,) or
" than those of whom St. *Peter* [It is hapned
" to them according to the true proverb: The
" dog to his vomit, and the washed swine to
" wallow in the mire.] Such discipline of awake-
" ned Reason is that the world groans for;
" that men would become Christians. O that
" the truth of faith, and power of true Christian
" belief might be seen in those that knowingly
" put the neck in Christs yoak.] So far he. See
also Dr. *Patrick* of Baptism. And of our selves
Mr. *Hanmer* and *Baxter* have written Treatises
only on this subject, to shew that such true
Confirmation would be the most excellent means
to heal most of our enormities and divisions.

And shall such Jesuits as *Vasquez*, such mode-
rators as *Erasmus*, and Protestant Conformists,
and Nonconformists, all thus speak for it, and yet
no hope? No wonder if a word or ceremony
that we disagree in, can make our wound so sad
as we have felt, when that which we in words

agree

agree for, and that not as a thing indifferent, but so necessary, cannot yet be obtained though we perish. Dead Images of all good things, is but the last and most effectual means of destroying the life and real good: Dead shews and Images of good, are Hypocrisie; sincerity is reality, seriousness and life. We take our Baptism to be our Christening, or the summe of the Christian Religion: And it is but for men to *do that seriously at Age*, which they did in Infancy by others authorized (or others for them) which is the Conversion which we daily preach: And it grieveth us to see what multitudes, when aged, never seriously think either what they did or received in their Infancy; and how many hate such a life as they have vowed, and yet think that they stand to their Baptismal Covenant. And till the Pastors of the Church make a serious work of it, to bring all their Parishes to a serious understanding and consideration of their Baptism, and a serious owning it, and renewing of that Covenant, we cannot hope that the people will be serious Christians; or that men will not think that serious Anabaptists are better than Hypocrites that contemn their Baptism.

SECT. II.

The Second Part of the Matter of Conformity.

THE First Part *de facto*, being contained in the Canonical Subscription, and the Declaration, hath been opened: The Second Part is the

the case of *Reordination.* Either they that require *Episcopal Ordination* for all that were otherwise ordained when Bishops were put out, do intend it a second Ordination or not. If yea, then it is a thing condemned by the ancient Churches, by the Canons called the Apostles, &c. and by *Gregory M.* and others likened to Anabaptistry. If not, then they take such mens former Ordination to be null, and consequently no Ministers to be true Ministers that are so ordained, and not by Dioceſans; and consequently all such Churches to be no true Churches (while they take the *Roman* Ordination to be valid.) To speak of the consequences of this as to the nullity of Baptizings and Consecration of the Lords Supper, &c. and of the taking of God's name in vain in the Office if it prove evil, would be to go further than the Matter of Fact.

SECT. III.

The Third Part of Conformity.

THE Third Part of Conformity is the Subscribing against the obligation from the Vow [*To endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church,*] with the *Oxford* Oath [*That we will never endeavour any alteration*;] and the Articles for our Prelacy; and the Ordination-promise, and Oath of Canonical Obedience before-mentioned, as to this point together.

2. Even those Nonconformists that are for the lawfulness, yea the need and desirableness of Bishops,

ſhops, and Archbiſhops, have ſo much againſt this Subſcription, as that to avoid prolixity, we will forbear reciting the particulars, any further than to tell you, that while a thouſand or many hundred Pariſh-Churches are all without any *particular appropriate Biſhops* (great Towns and Villages) when in *Ignatius*'s daies the Unity of each Church was known by having *One Altar*, and *One Biſhop, with the Presbyters and Deacons*. And *Jerom* defineth a Church to be *Plebs unita Epiſcopo*; and conſequently they are without the Diſcipline and Paſtoral overſight of ſuch Biſhops; and while all theſe Pariſhes are in the old ſenſe become *No Churches* (for *ubi Epiſcopus, ibi Eccleſia*) but only *Parts* of a Dioceſan Church: And while the old *form* of Churches, Presbyters and Biſhops is thus changed: And while one Biſhop hath now more work of Diſcipline (beſides Confirming and all his other work) than an hundred of the ableſt and beſt men can do; and ſo ſuch Diſcipline is neceſſarily undone: And while the Caſe is as if the Biſhop of *Carthage* had put down ſix hundred neighbour-Biſhops, and become the ſole Biſhop of all their Churches; or as if all the Schools in a Dioceſs have but one Governing School-maſter, who had power to judge what Scholar to receive or to refuſe: And while the Keys are to be exerciſed by Lay-men, theſe will be unſatisfying things.

3. The Conformiſts are not agreed of the meaning of theſe Subſcriptions and Oaths; ſome think that they covenant only to *ſubmit* to them (though they diſlike them:) But others think that it is alſo to *approve* the Government. Some think that it is only *Biſhops* that they are bound

to: But others say, that the word *Ordinary* certainly signifieth more than Bishops, even Lay-Chancellours. And that the *forecited* Canon expresly nameth many others, even with an *&c cætera*, [*the rest that bear Office*] And [*any alteration*] must needs mean more: as [*any alteration in State*] sure extendeth to more than not endeavouring to [*change Monarchy or the King himself.*] Some say that by [*not endeavouring*] is meant only [*not unlawfully endeavouring*] but not that *all endeavours* are forbidden, *viz.* not petitioning, speaking when called, &c. Others say that if exceptions had been allowed, the Law-makers would have made us know it, and not have spoken universally: And that if you expound it of [*unlawful endeavours*] you leave all men at liberty to judge what is unlawful, and all Schismaticks will take the Oath or Subscription, because they hold their endeavours to extirpate Prelacy to be *lawful*. Some say that one may endeavour in his place and calling, to take the Church-Keys out of the hands of Lay-Chancellours, notwithstanding this Subscription and Oath. But others more ingenuously say, that the very *actual Government* or Keys being in the hands of Lay-Chancellours, if it bind us not against endeavouring to change these, it binds us to *nothing* that can be understood: And that if Subjects thus take liberty after *Universal Oaths and Promises* to make such exceptions, they reproach the Law-makers, as if in such tremendous things as these they knew not how to put their Laws in words intelligible, and of common sense: And they relax all such sacred bonds. Some say that in [*not endeavouring*] is excepted [*unless the King commission*

mission or command us:] But others say, that if the Law-givers would have had such exceptions, they had wit enough to have put them in: And that if you leave it to men to except from universals, you cannot tell them where to stop: And that the use of the Oath and Subscription is, that the Church-Government be taken for unalterable.

SECT. XII.

The Fourth Part of Conformity.

IV. THE Fourth Part of Conformity is the Subscription against the obligation of the Oath called the Solemn Vow and Covenant. Corporations are constituted by Declaring, that *there is no obligation from it* to any one without exception: But Ministers must only subscribe that *there is no obligation on me, or on any other person, from the Oath, ---to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church.*]

2. It is none of the Controversie *here*, 1. Whether that vow was lawfully imposed or contrived, 2. Nor whether it were lawfuly taken. 3. Nor whether part of the matter was unlawful. But supposing all these unlawful, 1. Whether all alteration of Church Government be unlawful? whether it be not in the power of *the* King and Parliament, to set a Bishop in every Market Town: or to take the use of the Keys from Laymen: or to take down Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, Surrogates, &c? Whether all Reformation be out of the power of the King, or not to be desired by the people?

Whether that which is *Lawful* may not be done by the Law makers, and be endeavoured by speech in Parliament, or by petition by the people; Especially if the King Command it? 3 Whether men be not bound by a *Vow* to that which is Lawful: much more to that Which is antecedently a duty?

3. The Conformists are here disagreed among themselves; some say that the *Vow bindeth not* because it was *unlawfully imposed*: But others better say, that this proveth no more, but that the *Imposers* could not bind *me to take it by any authority of theirs*; And that if I had taken it *in secret without imposition* I had been bound by it: Else no private Vow should bind. Some say that it binds not because it was *sinfully taken*: But others truly say that if Oaths bind not wherever men *take them sinfully*, no wicked man should ever be bound by Oaths or Vows, because they usually make them sinfully by an ill end and intention, wrong motives, or ill principles or manner: Or at least a bad man might choose whether ever he will be obliged: But all good casuists agree, that if the *matter* be lawful the *unlawful taking* hinders not the obligation. A man that is Baptized with ill motives or intentions, is yet obliged by his Baptismal Vow. Some say that it binds not because the *matter it self* is unlawful. But its granted that it bindeth to no unlawful matter: Others therefore truly say that he that Voweth six things whereof three are sinful, is not disobliged by the conjunction of these from the other three that are Lawful: Else a Knave may keep himself disobliged as to all Vows, by putting in some unlawful thing. Some say that

It

it binds not because we were antecedently bound to all that is good by other bonds, and therefore not by this. But others truly say, that this is a most intollerable reason and would nullifie our Baptismal Vow, and all our sacramental Vows renewed; and all Covenants that ever man can make to God of any duty. For *Gods own Laws first bind us* to *every duty*: But for all that our own *Vows*, Covenants and promises *secondarily* bind us also: And a man may have *many obligations to one duty*; Yea indeed the Covenanters ordinarily profess that they think not that a man should Vow any thing to God but what God first hath made his duty. And they are against the Papists for making Religions and duties to themselves which God never made: And therefore they profess that if some things in the Covenant were not their duty before, they would not think that they are bound to it now: And they profess that if they had never taken that Vow they had been bound to all that by it they are bound to: And therefore condemning that Vow doth no whit secure the Government of the Church (*e. g. Lay Chancellours use of the Keys*, or the *destruction of discipline*) from their Lawful endeavours to alter it. And they profess that seeing the King hath power to command them Lawful things, if they had Vowed any thing meerly Indifferent it would not have bound them against the Kings Commands; Because it is not in subjects power, by Vows to withdraw themselves from their obedience to authority. Some say that the Proclamation of King *Charles* the first against the Covenant null'd the obligation. But others truly say, 1. That it could null no

more than the *Impoſition* to take it, and not the obligation when it's taken, in *neceſſary* things: 2. That this is nothing to all them that took it *afterward*, and that when *Charles* II. had (though injuriouſly) been drawn to declare for it. Some ſay that it binds not becauſe men took it *unwillingly*. But others truly ſay, 1. that this would leave it in the power of a bad man to nullifie all Vows and contracts, by ſaying that he *did them* unwillingly: 2. That man hath *free will* and cannot be compelled: And a Vow of a thing Lawful to ſave ones life bindeth: Men muſt rather die than lie. 3. This would teach Subjects to ſay that they take all Oaths of Allegiance to the King unwillingly, and therefore are not bound. 4. Its true that no man that forceth another injuriouſly to a promiſe can *claim to himſelf any right* from that which was not free but procured by his own injurious violence or fraud; But *God* wrongeth none, and a *Vow to God* bindeth though procured by ſinful force by men. Some ſay that It was only a League and Covenant with men, and not a Vow, and therefore ceaſeth *ceſſante occaſione*, and by the conſent of Parliaments, &c. *Anſ.* There is no place for the belief of this objection to any that knoweth a Vow otherwiſe than by the name: Indeed an Oath that is but an appeal to God, that I will faithfully perform my Covenant with a man, obligeth me not when that man hath diſcharged me from any obligation to him. But this in queſtion was primarily a promiſe or *Covenant made to God* (which is a Vow,) and a League and Covenant of men with one another that they will perform it; as is notorious to any man that

readeth

readeth it with common understanding.

II. The second thing questioned about that Vow (and the main) is, whether every Minister must or may become the judge of *all other mens Consciences and obligations in three Kingdoms*, even of many thousands whom they never saw nor heard of, and that so far as to absolve or justifie them from all obligations by that Vow to endeavour any Church reformation.

2. It is here supposed 1. That though men ought to take an Oath in the sence of a *Lawful Governour* so far as they know it, yet that they are not bound bevond the plain meaning of the words to the sense of Usurpers: Therefore they know not but the King and Lords, &c. might take the same words in another meaning than the obtruders did intend; *e. g*, to *reform according to Gods Word and the example of the best reformed Churches* might signifie to them an opposition to Presbytery.

2 That if men mistake the sence of the Imposers, they are bound to *keep* an Oath in the Lawful sence in which they *took it*. And then how knoweth every Minister in what sense every man in the three Kingdoms took it? And how is he able to say that no one man of them all is obliged by it to endeavour a lawful and necessary reformation?

3. And as to the former Argument that men *were forced to it*, many of the Old Parliament are yet living, and many others, that then *forced others* to it, and were *not forced* to it themselves.

4. And if the present Parliament-men could (upon what compulsion soever) Vow to reform, *e. g.* scandalous Ministers, Swearing, Drunkenness,

Popery, &c. and then would command all Ministers on pain of silencing to subscribe that no man is bound to perform that Vow, this would not do them any service, but involve each Subscriber in the guilt of a multitudes perfidiousness.

SECT. XIII.

V. *The Fifth Part of Conformity.*

1. THE The Fifth Part of Conformity is the Subscribing of the said Declaration, and taking the *Oxford* Oath, as it concerneth *Civil* Government, *viz.* [*It is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.*] in pursuance of that Commission.

2. Here the Question is not of the first Clause, of *taking Arms against the King*; but only of the last [*against those that are commissioned by him*] the Ministers being mostly ignorant of Law, and not knowing what is called a *Commission*, and what seal maketh it such: For as they are satisfied that no true Legal Commission of the King may be resisted, so while the unexpounded words have no limitation or exception, they dare not think that a Lord Chancellour or Keeper hath power at his pleasure to depose the King, by sealing Commissions to any to seize on his Forts, Garrisons, Magazines, Treasure, Navies or Guards; nor yet to destroy the Kingdoms,

doms, Cities, Laws and Judgments, and seize at pleasure on all mens estates or lives. And they dare not swear or subscribe that which the generality of Learned men Heathens, Papists and Protestants, Politicians, Lawyers, and Divines are commonly against, it being too great presuming on their own wits to say or swear, that almost all the world are in the wrong (even men in their own profession) and that yet they are wiser than all these. An Oath therefore being to be taken *understandingly*, their not *understanding* this, causeth their refusal; and it pleaseth not the Law-givers to explain it to them.

3. But though this be a very important business, we are so unwilling to meddle with matters of our Rulers Power, as being less pertinent to our function, and the late debates in the House of Lords (as some body hath published them) have said so much in this case, that we think it best to say no more of it.

SECT. XIV.

VI. *The Sixth Part of Conformity or Obedience consequently required of Ministers.*

1. THE Sixth part of Obedience required of us consequently is, that till we can do all aforesaid, *We must desert our former flocks, though they desire us to continue our care of them, and that we give over our preaching the Gospel of salvation to any but our families, or four more; and that no man not ordained by Dioceſans administer the Lords Supper, &c.*]

2. The

2. The question is not whether we should give up the Temples and Tythes, and all publick Maintenance when ever it is required of us: Though St. *Ambrose* would not obey the Emperour *Valentinian*, in giving up one Temple which he could spare, to the *Arrians*; yet the Nonconformists are of another judgment, and think them all in the Magistrates power: But it is the *Office*, *Relation* and *Work*, that they dare not renounce or cease from, without a better discharge.

3. Yet they judge, that where truly there is no necessity of their labours, or they should do more hurt than good by Preaching, it is their duty, when forbidden, to forbear: But not because any will say, we are Judges, and it is so, when notoriously it is not so.

4. But this requireth a larger disquisition than we may here stay to make.

SECT. XV.

VII. *The Seventh Part of required Obedience.*

1. THE Seventh Part of the Obedience required of us, is that *we come not within five miles of any City or Corporation which sendeth Burgesses to Parliament, or to any other place whatever, where we have ever preached since the Act of Oblivion*; except on the Rode or summoned.

2. Many Ministers have their friends, houses, and all that they have, in those forbidden places.

3. The greatest places being most populous have

have moſt need of Preachers, many ſouls being more precious than few, and the publick Teachers that have many thouſands, needing more help than they that have but little charges.

4. Few Miniſters are rich enough to be able to ſell their houſes and goods at loſs (when perhaps none will take them,) and to take houſes in other Countries.

5. A great part of the Land is ſeated ſo neer Corporations, that it is hard to find a place that is above five miles off them; And ſome Miniſters have Preached about in ſo many places, that it is hard to find a place within their reach, above five miles from the places which they have preached in: And in ſuch places, it is rare to find empty houſes, and Landlords that will let them on terms which they are capable of: ſo hard to them is this confinement.

6. They think that men can no more diſoblige them from preaching to many in Cities and Corporations, than to four or five in Villages; ſeeing the Churches of old were planted moſt in Cities, and Chriſt ſaith not, [forſake all the ſouls in Cities if they bid you,] but [*When you are perſecuted in one City fly to another.*]

7. Though we live not to eat, we muſt eat to live; and when Miniſters that have nothing, are like to beg or famiſh among ſtrangers in poor Villages, and bigger places do more call for help, and will allow them bread, they think it no ſin to eat bread any more than to give bread to others that are in want.

8. The former Laws ſend them when they are in beggery, to be kept by the Pariſhes where they laſt lived; and this Law forbids them to come within five miles of them.

SECT.

SECT. XVI.

The Adjuncts and other Matters agreed on, which affright the Nonconformists.

I. AS there are some sins far greater, and more terrible to conscience than others, so aggravating Adjuncts oft make them such: And these here seem very frightful. We are not now charging any others with sin, nor proving the unlawfulness of what we fear, but expressing the Matter of Fact agreed on, which doth affright us.

I. Both sides agree, that it is a great aggravation of sin to be done by a *Minister of Christ*, a person consecrated to holy work, to preach truth and holiness, and serve at the Altar: For our Doctrine will be the less regarded, and men will be tempted to follow our bad example, who are bound to be to them patterns of purity and obedience to God: And Christian and Protestant Religion is most injured by *Ministers* sins.

II. It is agreed that our *Ministerial sins*, which we do as if they were part of our Office in the publick Assemblies, have a special aggravation differing from mens *secret personal* crimes.

III. It is agreed that Lying and Perjury are sins of so heinous a nature, as that they tend to overthrow humane trust and converse, and all Societies, and deprive Princes of part of the security due to them for their lives and Crowns; And that in a Preacher of the Gospel they are intollerable, tending to tempt the hearers to believe nothing that we say.

IV. It

IV. It is agreed that by assertion to absolve thousands of persons known or unknown, and justifie them, if they should prove guilty of such a crime, and so to draw on our selves the guilt of many thousand perjuries, would be a sin of as heinous a nature as most we can imagine.

V. It is agreed by Protestants, that all Oaths, Covenants and Laws, must be understood according to the plain and usual sense of the words, unless our Rulers otherwise expound them, and tell us that they mean somewhat else.

VI. It is agreed that though Judges must determine of the sence of Laws, so far as to decide the cases that are brought to them; yet none can make an universal obligatory exposition of a Law, to bind the subjects conscience in understanding it but the Sovereign and Lawgivers themselves: Else a Judge might become a Legislator and frustrate the Kings Laws by his expositions. If Judgements be the expositors and preservers of *Common unwritten Laws* which are *Customs*, it is because it is the *Law-makers* or *Sovereigns* will that it shall be so.

VII. It is agreed by all Protestants that stretching the words of Laws, Oaths and Promises to meanings quite differing from the Common use of the words, without the direction of the Law-makers to to do, and taking such *Oaths or Covenants* with *equivocations and mental reservations* on pretence of *Charitable interpretation*, for our own ends and interests, is more suitable to Atheists than sincere Christians, and would overthrow humane trust, and the end of Laws and Princes safety, as well as other sorts of perjury. For instance, if one take the subscribed

Decla-

Declarations that [*Its unlawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King* and so on] and will thus equivocate, as they say some do; *viz.* [It is *unlawful*] that is, against the *Law of the Land but not against Gods Law*; [*To take Arms against the King*] *that is, as King*; but saith *Suarez*, and such others, when he is *excommunicate by the Pope he is no King*; [*On any pretence*] that is, say they, [*unjust pretence*] [*by his authority against his person*, and Souldiers] that is, say the equivocaters, [*Its well said that we may not do it by his Authority, but we may do it by the Law of nature and so by Gods Authority whose Law that is*; [*against any Commissioned by him*] that is, say they, *lawfully commissioned, and we are judges when his Commissions are unlawful*: So [*We will not endeavour any alteration of Government in Church or State*] that is, say they, 1. Not of *Monarchy*, or the King, but we may yet disturb any of his Officers: 2. Not of the Essentials of *Episcopacy*; but we may seek to take down their wealth and Lordships, and reduce them from Diocesans to Parochial or Corporation Bishops: 3. Not by unlawful *means*; but we take not that to be unlawful which they do. What good will Oaths or Covenants taken with such Latitude or Equivocation do? Do they secure any of the ends of Governments? Rulers should abhor such Equivocations and stretching Latitudes as these.

VIII. It is agreed on both sides, that if we might go on this supposition, that our Rulers can require nothing that is *unjust or impious, or against the Law or Common good, or their own interest*, and therefore that no *exposition is to be put on their Laws*

Laws or Impositions which is of any such importance, by this rule *any oath or Covenant or promise* in the world which Governours shall impose upon us, may be taken: For we must put a *good sense* upon them all: And the *sense* is the *Oath or Covenant*.

IX. It is commonly agreed that a man may not deliberately tell one lie to save his life, or his Ministerial liberty: And that if any one only of all the things imposed on us be a sin, it is the duty of all the Ministers of *England* rather to suffer any thing, or to dye than to Commit it. And that if it be one mans duty to be silent in such a case, it would be the duty of all the Ministers in the Land, if the things be sin.

X. And all are agreed that to silence all the Ministers of the Nation, is a thing that God hath not given any man authority to do, because of the necessity of their Ministry; and consequently not to silence any necessary Ministry at all.

XI. It is agreed that Satan would fain corrupt States and Churches with the most heinous sins, to expose them to Gods judgements and the enemies scorn: And that common Perjury or Perfidiousness is one of those greatest sins: And that as the Belief of the Truth is the beginning of Christianity, so Satan is a Lyer and the father of Lies: And he that thinketh that Satan is endeavouring to stigmatize Persons, Churches or Kingdomes with his brand of PER should the more carefully avoid the receiving of that mark.

XII. It is agreed that God hath within these fourteen years excercised very grievous Chastisements on Cities and Corporations, by such a Plague (on *London* and many Corporations) and such fires on *London*, *Southwark* and many Corpora-

porations) and such increase of Poverty, (though we have more liberty at Sea and Land for trade, than almost any Nation neer us) as that the like hath not been known in our forefathers daies: And that if this should be the Voice of Christ, as a reproof of our perfidiousness, and perjuries, saying(*except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish,*) it would leave the impenitent without all just excuse.

XIII. It is agreed by us all, that God will not hold him guiltless who taketh his name in vain; especially by perjury or false Vows or Covenants; And that for *Oaths* (broken) the Land may mourn: And that he is the grand enemy of Church or Kingdomes, who would by such sin bring them under the judgments of God: And, as *Achan*, bring in an accursed thing.

XIV. None can deny that it is better to cherish *honesty and conscience*, especially about *Oaths and Covenants* which secure Converse and the lives of Princes, than to teach men to *stretch Conscience* in such matters; and to make every *seared Conscience* capable of the *holy Ministry, preferment and honour*; and a *fear of such sin*, to be the way to silence and ruine.

XV. we agree that when Jesuites and other Papists have contracted the shame of equivocation and perfidiousness, Protestants should not partake with them, and take the shame on their religion.

XVI. It is agreed that when the *Scots Covenant* is so greatly decryed, and the *violation* of the *Oaths of Allegiance* and *other Oaths* and *Covenants* was found necessary to the killing of the King, and other late confusions and iniquities, we should not after such warning either

either insnare men in unnecessary Oaths & Covenants, nor harden such men against Repentance, by doing any such thing our selves, much less by commanding it.

XVII. We are agreed that to commit a sin by passion or sudden surprize, is not so wicked as to do it on deliberation: Nor is the doing it only so bad, as undertaking to justifie it, and encourage others to do the like.

XVIII. We are agreed that God is jealous about holy things, and that wilful corrupting his Church, worship or discipline, to the disgrace of religion and encouragement of wickedness is a heinous sin: Especially to Approve such things.

XIX. We are agreed that to make a deliberate Covenant that I will sin against God, and to subscribe and declare this, is a heinous aggravation of the sin: *e. g.* When the high places were kept up in *Judea* if any had Covenanted to keep them up, and *purposed* to transgress, the wilfulness had been the greatness and dangerous signification of such sinning.

XX. We are agreed that *Repentance* is Gods condition of forgiveness; and that for a man to *resolve and Covenant to sin* and to *profess it openly* to all the Church, and that *oft times*, and so to *renounce Repentance*, is---alas---

XXI. Most sober Christians are agreed that Christians should be united upon the terms which Christ himself hath made in the baptismal Covenant, and in their obedience to his Laws; and that Papall Usurpations and imposing of things unnecessary as necessary to Union, Communion or Ministration, hath been the great cause of Schisms through the Christian world,

for about 1000 years at least: And that they who will still obey such dividing Imposers, do continue Schisms in the world by encouraging the causes of them.

XXII. We are on both sides agreed, that it were heinous hypocrisie, and prophaneness, if we should make our sacred Ministerial work the pretended reason for our sinning, and should swear, declare or subscribe that which we take to be falle, and do that which we take to be sin, that we may have leave to preach against sin in others; and so offer God a Sacrifice of iniquity, and put a beam into our own eye that we may have leave to Preach against the mote that is in our brothers eye.

XXIII. We are afraid of making Separatists and Anabaptists and tempting men to avoid us, as scandalous men.

XXIV. We are afraid lest by such wilful sin, we should by a carnal interest, to defend what we have once done, be tempted to impenitence, and to persecute the just.

XXV We are agreed that they that will run into willful heinous sin, as they deserve to be forsaken of God, so they cannot expect such a blessing on their Ministry, as Conscionable upright men may do.

XXVI. It is agreed that the ancient Christian Pastors Preached against the will of Princes for 300 years; and after that against the will of Christian Princes (*Constantius, Valens, Theodosius Junior, Valentinian*, &c.) And not only Apostles said, that God was to be obeyed rather than men, but such as *Timothy* who was ordained by man, were charged before God and the Lord Jesus

Jesus Christ who will judge the living and dead at his appearing and Kingdom, to preach the Gospel and be instant, in season; &c.

XXVII. We are agreed that the Children of Christians, when they grow up, know no more of God, of Heaven, of Christ, without *teaching*, than the Children of Heathens do: And therefore that the opening and applying the Gospel is needful in *England* as well as in *America*.

XXVIII. It is so far from saving unbelievers or ungodly persons, that they are the Children of Christians, and in the visible Church, that it maketh their case more miserable; if not worse than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

XXIX. As of old every single Church had usually many Presbyters and Deacons with the Bishop, so it is undeniable that many of our Parishes have work enough for many Ministers, and only want of maintenance is pretended for our present paucity (with the want of worthy men.)

XXX. It is granted us, that to alienate consecrated persons from the holy Ministry causelessly, is greater Sacriledge than to alienate consecrated Lands, Goods or Temples, which are but means to the use of the said Ministry. We are not here accusing our silencers of this heinous Sacriledge: Their Righteous Judge and ours, will quickly pass the final sentence: But we dare not, we will not sacrilegiously silence and alienate our selves, lest we forsake our Lord, and betray mens souls, and be doomed as the slothful servant that hid his talent, *Mat.* 25. and bring down more plagues upon the Land: We fear when we read 1 *Thes.* 2. 15, 16. the signs that wrath was come to the utmost on the Jews; even their forbidding men to

preach the Gospel of salvation, lest we should contribute to such a dreadful desertion of this Land.

SECT. XVII.

The Case of the Ministers since they were silenced, and their Practice (with the Peoples.)

WE humbly crave of those narrow Seers, who venture to censure the generality, for somewhat which they dislike in some persons that are neerest to themselves, that they would truly understand the case and practice of their Brethren, before they any further in Sermons and Writings provoke the Magistrate to execute the Laws upon them, as Schismaticks, Seditious, or what accusation is readiest at hand.

I. That the elder sort of the Nonconformists are ordained by Bishops, and most of the rest by such Pastors of Churches, of Cities, Corporations and other Parishes associate, as the times then allowed; and that in this Ordination (be the Ceremonious part right or wrong) they are all by Consent or Covenant devoted to the sacred Ministry, and that not for a time, as hirelings, but for life: this is denied by none that we know of.

II. It is known to all Faithful Ministers and others, who converse with the common sort of men, that a great part of the people of *England* are ignorant of the very Essentials of Christianity, and a great part dull and worldly neglecters of all serious religiousness; and a great part sensual, drowned in filthy fleshly sins: Besides the ignorance, weakness, and unwarrantable opinions

opinions and paſſions of many that are more ſeriouſly religious than the reſt. And that it is a hard work to cure *one* ignorant, erroneous, vitious ſoul: And each one is precious, and not to to be left in ſin as deſperate; conſidering the everlaſting conſequents.

III. It is certain that moſt great Pariſhes, eſpecially in Cities and great Towns, have more ſouls which call for *Miniſterial help*, than Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, if they lovingly joyned, are able well to afford neceſſary help to.

IV. The Miniſters that dwell in Cities or Corporations, when they were caſt out, did quietly ſurrender Temples and Tythes: But many of their people claimed the continuance of their Relation and Miniſtry; and many profeſſed that they could not truſt their ſouls to the Paſtoral guidance and care of many of thoſe who were placed in the Temples in their ſtead; and charged the neglect of their ſouls on ſuch as refuſed.

V The Bills of Mortality ſhew us that the 97 Pariſhes within the walls of *London* are not the ſeventh part of the whole, including all the outer Pariſhes: And of the 97 there were very few Churches left unburned; and there are but few that are yet built up; and inſtead of many, there are ſmall Tabernacles, and inſtead of others nothing: And the outer Pariſhes are moſtly ſo great, as that the Temples will hold but a ſmall part of the people: It is conjectured by the Inhabitants, that in *Martins* Pariſh are about threeſcore thouſand ſouls, and in *Stepney* and *Giles*'s *Cripplegate*, each about fifty thouſand, and in *Giles*'s in the Fields between 20000 and 30000, and in *Clements Danes*, *Margarets Weſtminſter*,

Andrews Holborn, Sepulchres, and the Churches in *Southwark*, at *Aldgate, White-Chappel, Shoreditch*, and divers others, there are in some six times the number that can hear in the Temples, in some more, and in others not much less. And in most Churches the Preachers voice will not extend to above two thousand, if more can come in. So that take one with another, and it is conjectured that it is not above the seventh or eight part of the Inhabitants that can come to hear in the outer Parishes: And if the other six or seven parts should seek for room in the emptier Churches of other Parishes within the walls, it cannot be supposed that above one part of these six or seven would find room: So that all set together, there is supposed to be place but for about the fifth, or fourth part at most, of all the people within and without the walls: And *London* is to be denominated rather from three, four or five parts, than from *One* of these: And we all agree, that the famousest and happiest City for Religion in the world should not be left to turn Infidels, Pagans, Atheists, or to be kept from all publick Worship of God. And it must be considered that the great Parishes where one of twenty cannot hear, are far off from the Churches that have room; and that such persons cannot easily know before-hand what Churches have room, and where to seek it: And that those that have most need, have least desire, and when they cannot be taught near home, will rather stay at home, or in the streets, or Ale-houses, than go far to seek room in the Alleys of other Churches. And it's known that by this means Papists have got opportunity of seducing

cing multitudes, and many get them to baptize their children. And whereas it is ſaid that ſome may go one day, and ſome another; it is anſwered, 1. That if they did go half the families by turns, ſtill the greater part would be ſhut out. 2. It is all, that are bound by God conſtantly to hear and worſhip him. 3. And thoſe that moſt value it will ſtill croud in, and keep out the reſt, and will not bargain away their own duties and benefits for other mens ſakes: Nor can Pariſhes come to agree upon ſuch a bargain.

VI. Experience aſſureth us that men are not uſually brought to knowledge, repentance, faith and holineſs, by the Goſpel *ex opere operato*, or as by a charm; but as an apt morall cauſe; And that the Preaching of judicious, convincing, ſerious, affectionate Miniſters hath incomparably more ſucceſs, than the affected language, or dull reading ſpeeches of injudicious novices or wordly formaliſts or hypocrites: God uſually worketh according to the morall aptitude of the means (though not alwaies.)

VII. It cannot be denyed but that the number of raw cold, dry, yea and ſcandalous Miniſters, in many Counties of this Kingdom is too great: And the more ignorant and bad the people are, the abler Miniſters, and more diligent do they need: And thoſe people who feel what profiteth their Souls, will not take up with cold, uneffectual teaching, if they can have better.

VIII. He that hath no Preacher but a Reader in his pariſh, is by the Church Laws forbidden to refuſe his Miniſtry, and all ſuch are forbidden frequent going to other pariſhes, communicating in them: what want ſoever they have at home.

IX. The Nonconformists that do but affirm any thing in the Liturgy, Ceremonies, Articles, Government, &c. to be unlawful, and such as they may not subscribe to, are by the Church Laws excommunicate *ipso facto*: And all that dare not take the Sacrament kneeling, are to be denyed the Communion of the Church; And all that dare not submit their Children to be baptized by the foredescribed underraking of Godfathers, and to receive the Cross as a dedicating badg of Christianity, must not have their Children Christened; And all that dare not commit their souls to the *Pastoral Guidance of ignorant readers*, or other men whom they think by their *unskilfulness*, *unsoundness*, *averseness to a holy life*, *strangers to intimate cases of conscience*, or notorious *negligence and sloth*, *or non-residence*, to be unmeet for them to trust themselves to, in so great a matter, in which their salvation is so much concerned, and so dare not take the Sacrament from such as their Pastors, all these are forbidden Communion with any other Parish Churches by the Canon, and all Ministers forbidden to receive them. And if they dare not say that they *are willing to be confirmed* (in the *Engl sh* mode) they must no where be admitted to communion: And being excommunicate, must not be buryed according to the Church-Office when they are dead; so that they are cast out of the Church, before they Congregate in other Assemblies.

X. In this case the Nonconformists are not agreed what to do: One part and the far greatest say, 1. We will forbear affirming the unlawfulness of any of the foresaid impositions, till we are called to speak out: And because the case of these

these times calls us often to it, we will do it as privately and modestly as we can: 2. And though we are *excommunicated ipso facto*, yet we are not *bound* our selves to execute their sentence; but may stay in Communion till they prove the fact and do the execution on us themselves by refuting us: And this we take to be the most peaceable way: But others say, That though in some cases for peace this way may be taken, yet ordinarily we are not bound to seek and expect Communion with that Church which hath already thus excommunicated us; especially when all the Ministry subscribe and declare their Conformity to the Church orders, and swear Canonical obedience to the Ordinaries, and are themselves to be suspended if they give us the Communion: We must not, say they, strive against their Laws, nor seek that Ministers should be perjured, false to their promises and professions to admit us to Communion against their Laws: Nor can any Church that first excommunicateth us, call us Schismaticks for not communicating with them, unless they prove that we give them just cause to excommunicate us. Here it is supposed that the Reader understandeth that [*to be excommunicated ipso facto,*] *is sine sententia*, without any need of a Judges sentence, *to be actually excommunicate upon our fact done*, so that the bare proof and notice of the *fact is* enough to warrant the execution (Though a Judge *may* also pass a *sentence* if he see cause,) *vid. Calv. Lexic. Jurid.* And others commonly. There are some others that go further, and think it unlawful to have Communion with the Parish Churches, because they thus excommunicate us first, without more cause,

cauſe, and becauſe they take the Paſtors to be ſcandalous by the foreſaid Oaths, Declarations and ſubſcriptions, and thoſe that have not the peoples conſent, to be no true Paſtors. But theſe are herein diſowned by the moſt; and very few Miniſters are of their mind that we know of, though many of the people much incline to it; eſpecially they that live where the Prieſts are ignorant, ſcandalous, ſlothful, or malignant; becauſe *Paul* ſaith, [*With ſuch, no not to eat.*] But others tell them that 1. It is not the Pariſh-Miniſters that made the excommunicating Laws: 2. And if they ſin themſelves, it is ignorantly: 3. And we have not a call and opportunity to hear and judge them.

XI. Even thoſe called Independents hold (if Mr. *Ph. Nyes* Manuſcript to that end may tell us their minds) that it is lawful to hear the publick Pariſh Miniſters, becauſe the Magiſtrate may ſet Teachers over the People, and require them to hear them: Though they hold that the People ſhould chooſe their Paſtors, and that the Sacraments ſhould be adminiſtred and received freely, and not by force. Yea ſuch Anabaptiſts as Mr. *Tombes* (as is viſible in his Book) hold that Communion with the Pariſh-Church is lawful, in the Word Prayer, and Lords Supper.

XII. We commonly hold that men unjuſtly excommunicated, are not thereby diſobliged from publick worſhiping of God, and living under Paſtoral overſight and Church-diſcipline, nor are bound to endanger their own ſalvation by neglecting ſuch duties, and loſing ſuch helps and priviledges; and therefore muſt be of ſuch Churches as they can, if they cannot be of ſuch as they would;

would, or as are allowed by the Magiſtrate.

XIII. It is not in the power of our ſelves to eſcape ſuch excommunications: For we are not able to change our own underſtandings, ſo far as to hold every thing before named, to be lawful: Some of us are able to ſay that we have with a willingneſs to ſee the truth, ſtudied the caſe of the old Conformity above forty years, and the caſe of the New-conformity now above ſeventeen years, and read almoſt all that hath been written for them, which we thought might add to our information, and prayed earneſtly that God would not ſuffer us to erre; and the longer we ſtudy it the more we are confirmed: In this caſe we ſuffer publick and private obloquy and reproach, and not only theſe ſeventeen years the loſs of all Miniſterial Maintenance, but the danger of 40 *l.* a Sermon, and impriſonment in common Gaols, and the ruine of our eſtates and health: And in reaſon its as eaſie to think that they that hold their opinion on ſuch terms, are like to be as impartial in their ſtudies as they whoſe way leadeth to preferment, wealth and honour; of which we were capable of a part: We ſay therefore again, that to *Conform*, or prevent the *Canons Excommunication ipſo facto*, is not in *our power*. And they that ſay, God will not condemn men for that which they were not able to avoid or help, ſhould not do otherwiſe themſelves.

XIV. When the 1800 or 2000 Miniſters were ſilenced, the far greateſt part of them forbore all publick Preaching, and only taught ſome few in private at ſuch hours as hindered not the publick Aſſemblies, and many of them lived as private men.

XV To

XV. To this day it is so with many of the Nonconformists: Those that live where they find small need of their Preaching, or else have no call or opportunity, and cannot remove their dwellings, do hold no Assemblies, but as other men content themselves to be Auditors. Those that live where are godly and peaceable Ministers in Publick, who yet need help, do lead the people constantly to the Parish-Churches, and teach them themselves at other hours, and help them from house to house: This is ordinary in the Countries, and even in *London*, with many Ministers that hold no Assemblies; yea many that were ejected out of City Parish-Churches.

XVI. Those called Independents do keep up such Churches as they had gathered before; when none of our present oaths, declarations, subscriptions or practices were imposed on them; which is not therefore to be taken as new.

XVII. As to the rest, it was the great and terrible Plague in 1665. which made this change in their Assembling and Ministration. When the publick Ministers forsook the City, and the rich left the poor to misery and death, and people lookt every day for their last; when they that heard a Sermon one day, were buried the next; when death had awakened the people to Repentance, and a regard of their everlasting state, divers Nonconformable Ministers resolved to stay with them; They begg'd money out of the Countries for the poor, and relieved them: They got into the empty Pulpits, and preached to them: And when Preachers and Hearers lookt every day for their last, it is easie to conceive that there was serious Preaching, and serious Hearing: By this

many-

many that died were helpt in their preparations; and through God's great mercies, multitudes that survived, repented and became the serious seekers of a better world. The men that did this were mostly unmarried, and could easilier venture their own lives, than such as had families; and some of them that had families, yet trusted God, and most did scape. We know but of one pious *Germane* Minister that died of the Plague in the City (and one of another Disease, if not through want) and two that fled from it in the Country.) And when God had blest these mens faithful labours with the conversion of many souls (especially Apprentices and young people,) the experience so engaged their mutual affections, that the Ministers resolved that they would live and die in such service as God had so blessed and preserved them in; and their hearers resolved that they would not forsake their Teachers: And thus the dreadful Plague began that which so much now offendeth men, as a dangerous Schism.

XVIII. And when some men out of excessive caution, were ready to think that when that Plague was ceased (having killed about an hundred thousand) the Ministers should lay by that publick work, and retire again into secret corners, God confuted them by his next dreadful judgement, burning down the City the next year, 1666: So that there were neither Churches to go to, nor Ministers in the Parishes to Preach, nor rich men to maintain them: And could any soul that hated not Christ and mens salvation, have wished the Nonconformists then to desert the miserable people. When they newly came from

from under the terrour of such a dreadful Plague, and when success and Gods protection had so greatly encouraged them, and when presently they were deprived of their worldly treasure, and had not houses, or goods, or mony, but thousands utterly ruined in the world, and crept into holes and lived in poverty, when it was a wonder that they dyed not by hundreds of famine, and when such a sight as *London* in its ruines was before mens eyes, (which he that saw sure can never forget,) If then men, because that the Bishops or Parliament forbad them, should have refused to Preach the Gospel of Christ, and to teach men to lay up a treasure in Heaven, and to comfort such a ruined City, what excuse would such unfaithfull servants have had at the bar of their great Judge?

XIX. These two great and notorious necessities succeeding in those two dreadful years 1665 1666. calling the Nonconformable Ministers out of their retirements, and latitant and silent state, resolved them to serve God more diligently and openly than they had done, whatever it cost them: And many Country Ministers were awakened to the like by the examples of those in *London*: Though yet a great number who are in places of less need, or not called out as aforesaid, still lie much silent.

XX. WHILE THE DREADFUL FIRE WAS WASTING LONDON and OTHER CORPORATIONS, THE PARLIAMENT and BISHOPS WERE AT OXFORD MAKING AN OATH TO DRIVE ALL NONCONFORMISTS ABOVE FIVE MILES FROM ALL CITIES and CORPORATIONS that send Burgesses

gesses to Parliament, and all other places where ever they had Preached since the act of oblivion. So that, had they obeyed the Laws, *London* had been deserted in the Plague and in the ruines, and few people suffered publickly to worship God: At the mention of which the heart of the writer of this trembleth; especially to think how much further the Bishops went in this then the Synod of *Ithacius* and *Idacius* went, from which *Martin* separated to the death by Gods miraculous instruction.

XXI. The Plague, Fire, Poverty, which have seized not only on *London*, but on many other Corporations of *England*, more than other places, and more than hath been known in our forefathers daies, make many wish that the Corporation-Oath and Declaration might be reviewed and that Gods Judgments as a Trumpet sounding REPENT O ENGLAND were heard by all the Corporations of the Land, before we hear that *time is past*: And that it might be considered whether either an *Unlawful Imposing, or an Unlawful taking, or the neighbourhood* of any *Unlawful particulars*, can warrant any man to declare that *neither he nor any other person, is obliged by that Vow, to Repent of his sin, or to oppose prophaneness, Popery or Schism*, or any *thing contrary to sound Doctrine and Godliness*. And to enquire in what Countrey or age of the world, Christian, Mahometan, or Heathen, there was ever such a Law before. It was that age of the Church in which Hell ruled most on earth, even in the Wars between Pope *Gregory* 7th. and the Emperour, when the Pope swore them on one side, and the Emperour on the other; and

men

men ſwore, and unſwore, and forſwore, as the powers that they were under bid them; which made *Abbas Urſpergenſis, Chron p.* 32. ſay [*Ut omnis homo jam ſit perjurus & præditis facinoribus implicatus, ut vix excuſari poſſit quin ſit in his, ſicut populus ſic & Sacerdos.* And that pleaſant man (who knoweth his own name) who merrily derideth his adverſaries, for gathering a *doubt of our fundamentals* from our differences, may more feelingly know one day that *God will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain:* And may conſider that it was no more preciſe a man than *Cotta* in *Cicero* (*de Nat. Deor. l.* 1.) that would prove men did not believe that there was a God, becauſe they durſt be perjured; inſtancing in perjured and ungodly *Carbo*: It was not a ſign of Schiſmaticks, but of very charitable moderate men, that could hear and regard ſuch a perjured Miniſtry, as *Urſpergenſis* ſaith was then in the *Roman* Church, eſpecially in *Germany*, where the temptation lay.

XXII. A little after the Plague and Fire, ſome Nonconformable Miniſters about *London*, met, to conſider whether our actuall forbearance to joyn with the Pariſh Churches in the Sacrament, might not tend to deceive men and make them believe that we were for ſeparation from them, and took their Communion to be unlawful: And upon the Reaſons given in, they agreed that ſuch Communion was lawful and meet, when it would not do more harm than good: But becauſe at that time a ſtorm was coming on men, from the Act againſt Conventicles, and their judgment was againſt ruining thoſe that in this were not of their minds (on the reaſons aforeſaid) and being credibly

credibly informed that their communicating at such an unseasonable time would not only perswade men that force compelled them, but also draw them to ruine others that durst not imitate them, they resolved to delay for a fitter opportunity, because God will have mercy and not sacrifice; and our *Liberty* is not alwaies our *Duty*, nor must be used to other mens destruction. Thus violence crosseth the Authors ends.

XXIII. Shortly after, when such thoughts returned, and many thought it meet to joyn in the publick Assemblies, the *Oxford* Oath and Act of Confinement was put in execution, and drove them all away: For the reasons aforesaid had satisfied them not to desert the souls in all Cities, Corporations and places where they had Preached; and so they were fain to hide themselves to avoid six months imprisonment in the common Gaols (whither some of us were sent;) so that if they had come to the Parish-Churches, to Common-prayer or Sacraments, they had exposed themselves to multitudes of witnesses, and so to certain imprisonment: Except in some odd corners of the Country where they were strangers (about five miles from Corporations or acquaintance) where their example would have wrought little on any in the Cities, or that had known them: So that the *Oxford* Act most effectually forbad them coming to Church, or holding Communion with any Parish-Churches within five miles of any such City, Corporation or Village where they had Preached since the Act of Oblivion: This they could not avoid.

XXIV. Yet many Ministers were afraid of introdu-

troducing unwarrantable separations, by avoiding the severities of the Law and Bishops; and many that did retire to Country-Villages five miles distant, as confined, did there constantly joyn with the Parish-Churches in Liturgy and Sacrament: But this being far from Cities, and not in the sight of the people that were most disaffected to the Prelates and Liturgy, did little with them; and so they were disabled by the Bishops or Rulers to do what they desired against other mens extreams.

XXV. Before this, many Ministers had offered thankfully to accept the Liberty of Preaching in the Parish-Churches where the Liturgy is used, and being present at it: And some to this day that live in the Country, where they can get so much favour, preach in the Parish-Churches, and joyn in the Liturgy, and draw others to it, and go from place to place thus to avoid being taken.

XXVI. Many, seeing how we were thus driven not only from *Preaching*, but such *Parish-Communion*, were tempted to hard thoughts of such affairs, as if it came from the Papists, who would have equalled, and mass'd us up with themselves.

XXVII. Shortly after this, the Kings Clemency saw cause to make an alteration, and to give us his gracious indulgence by his Licenses for places and persons: Upon this, Ministers boldly set up Chappels under the Parish Churches; and in all the time of this their Liberty, when there were witnesses enough, if they had offended, we remember not that any were ever convict of any word of seditious or unsound doctrine, or any unpeaceable attempts. But while they had this leave to Preach themselves, they thought best to take

take it at the same convenient hours that the Parish Churches meet at: Other times being so inconvenient, as that families cannot observe them without hurt. And they could not *Preach, and hear in the Parish-Churches* at once.

XXVIII. All this while, though they had the Kings authority for their Assemblies, some Clergy men ceased not to accuse them of Schism; shewing that it is the want of something else rather than the Kings authority on which they ground their accusation.

XXIX. Some Nonconformists have these 17 years forborn to baptize or administer the Lords Supper, or to be Pastors of any Churches, but only Preached occasionally where the Parishes were so great, that one of ten or twenty had no room in the Church; and where some of many years had heard no publick worship of God: And they have published to the people that they assembled them not to separate from the Parish Churches or their worship, but for their meer necessity, perswading none to come to hear them, but such as cannot come into the Parish Churches to hear: Yet are they accused for drawing men from the Church.

XXX. These Ministers in these places have been prosecuted more severely than the rest, by imprisonments, fines and guards against their meetings; which induced others to Preach in the City where there seemed less need, because they found quietness no where else, and because some out of the remoter needy Parishes might come thither to them.

XXXI. Though they have lost all Ministerial maintenance, and are lyable to pay 20 *l.* the first Sermon, and 40 *l.* the rest, and 20 *l.* for the ground

for all that they Preach, besides six months imprisonment in the common goals, and poverty disableth City and Countrey to maintain them; and some with Wives and Children have long lived on little besides brown Rye Bread and Water; and others, that can live of their own, expend all in the charges of the places and adjuncts where they Preach for nothing; and some never took any pay, from the first these 17 years, but patiently serve God and wast their strength under mens obloquy and reproach; yet are there not wanting persons of the Clergy, who represent their greatest and deerest services as their greatest sins, and accuse them as enemies of the Churches peace, and the leaders of Schism, and in pulpit and print provoke authority to execute the Laws more severely on them; Though the execution hath cost some excellent men their lives already, and they may know that no execution short of death or utter disablement will make the most conscionable forsake their duty, and sacrilegiously desert the Office to which they were dedicated and ordained: (As the late case of the *Hungarian* Ministers declareth:) And such courses never ended in the honour of those of the Clergy that procured them: Yea some as *going to the bar of God, have undertaken to prove, that it is through pride and covetousness that we conform not.* And because some Churches called Independent withdraw not their maintenance from their Pastors, and some few others have maintenance of their own, or friends that will not see them want, they would make strangers believe that the common sort of Nonconformists, whose families live in sufferings

and

and wants, are gainers by their Nonconformity: Though themselves that have the most and richest on their side, would be loth to take up with such maintenance, and often Preach, how sad a case the Church would be in, if Ministers were left to the peoples charity: While they live in fulness thus they envy their poor brethren, who that they may finish their course, would be glad of leave to labour for nothing, and live on alms, taking Gods favour for their reward.

XXXII. And to compleat all, some blush not to accuse them, as the bringers in of Popery, by desiring Liberty; as if Preaching the Gospel did not do more to keep out Popery, than the ignorance of untaught people: As if our earnest requests eighteen years ago, that we might not be mass'd up with the Papists, nor a door opened to them by our divisions and sufferings, were all forgotten: As if the Nonconformists were neerer Popery than they that would have the Pope to be *Principium Unitatis* to the Universal Church: As if their Printed Morning Lectures against Popery, and many other Writings, did not sufficiently shew their distance from it: As if the *Papists* desired the *Liberty*, rather than the *silencing* of the Nonconformists; or desired any thing more than that so many hundred adversaries to Popery, and all the Protestants of *England* who adhere to them, might be cast out, and brought as low as themselves, and put into the same condition, that they might stand or fall together. Nay, what if on such necessity they should accept of favour from any Papists that would save them? If one Party would bring men to such a pass that they must be hanged, imprisoned,

ruined, or worse, unless the favour of the Papists deliver them; and the other Party had rather be saved by Papists, than be hanged or ruined by Protestants, which of these were more to be suspected of Popery? especially if the same men that give us the Alarm that Popery is coming in, undertook the sole teaching of those by whom they suspect its entrance, and yet would not abate a needless Oath, or covenant or ceremony to keep it out, or strengthen the Protestants by the Union, for which we have so long patiently begg'd and waited.

XXXIII. The most of our acquaintance take it for their duty to do their best to keep up the reputation of the publick Conformable Ministry, that it may further Love and Concord, and the success of their labours with the people; and they profess to take their own Assemblies but as Chapels, and not as *distinct*, much less as separated Churches: And those of them who do administer the Sacraments, and do that which is like the Separatists way, yet do it not on their principles, but *pro tempore*, till God shall give them opportunity to serve him in the established way (if ever it may be hoped for:) it being reformed or well ordered Parish-Churches under the Government and countenance of the Christian Magistrates, which are most agreeable to their desires.

XXXIV. When we go into the Parish-Churches, we find those that have able godly Ministers usually to be as full as will consist with the peoples hearing the voice (which in many places will not reach to a great part of the Congregation:) we find such Preachers, whether Conformable, or

Non-

Nonconformable, every where almoſt crouded after; which ſhews that it is not meer faction that moveth the hearers; and that worthy men have no cauſe of diſcouragement: And if none of either ſide be valued much above their worth (for the bare *Office* ſake) we cannot help it; nor would it be helped if there were no Nonconformiſts: Some of us well remembring the time (1632. till 1640.) when we were troubled or threatned alſo for going out of our own Pariſhes to hear worthy, able men that were very conformable.

XXXV. It is very ordinary with Gentlemen and others that are zealous for the preſent Church-State in *London*, to go from their own Pariſhes, though the Canon be againſt it: ſo that it is not, ſure, the breach of the Canon that they ſtick at.

XXXVI. We ſhall never diſſwade men from making the ſtricteſt Laws to puniſh any Nonconformiſt that ſhall be proved guilty of Sedition, Diſloyalty, Drunkenneſs, Fornication, Swearing, and any other immorality; but we know of none of them that was ſilenced, ejected, or puniſhed on any ſuch account: Nay, if they Preach againſt their Church Government, Liturgy, or Ceremonies, we muſt expect that they ſhould be reſtrained. Our earneſt deſire is, that the Magiſtrate would keep up Peace and Order in the Church, that Popiſh Clergy men may not think that it belongeth to them alone to do it.

XXXVII. Whereas there is a ſort of ignorant or ill meaning men, that ſtill ſay [*we know not what the Nonconformiſts would have, and why will they not tell us what would ſatisfie them,*] While

we offer to beg on our knees for leave to do it; we humbly intreat them to weary men awake no more with that canting. 1. As long as the Kings Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical affairs is viſible. 2. And as long as our *Reply* and our *Reformed additions to the Liturgy*, and our *Petition for Peace* which reſpected the old Conformity remain unanſwered by thoſe to whom in 1660 we did preſent them: 3. And till we are once called or allowed *to ſpeak for our* ſelves againſt the *new conformity*; a favour which the juſtice of old Romane Heathens, yea and ſplenetick Jews did grant to all that were accuſed before they puniſhed them, but ſince Popery prevailed in the world, is become a thing among them not to be expected. 4. And as long as men know that Biſhop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton* appointed by the Lord Keeper Bridgman to treat with ſome of us of the terms of *Union*, (ſaying it was His Majeſties Pleaſure,) did come to a full agreement with us in *terminis*, which was drawn up into the form of an Act by no worſe a man than that PILLAR OF JUSTICE the excellent Judge *Hale*, and the Parliament preſently Voted that no ſuch Act ſhould be brought in and offered. Dear Brethren, God is the father of Lights and with him is no darkneſs: Men may be mocked, but God is not mocked: If the day that will bring works of darkneſs to light, and finally clear the Innocent, be not the object of certain faith and hope, let our cauſe be bad, and let us as fools be judged ſuch as have forſaken our beſt hopes: But that it is otherwiſe we believe, and therefore appeal to a righteous God from an unrighteous world.

XXXVIII.

XXXVIII. What harm our Preaching the doctrine of ſalvation can do to the Biſhops or people of the Land (while they may puniſh us for any word that we ſpeak amiſs:) And why we ſhould not rather ſpeak *openly* (where men may bear witneſs of our errours,) than in ſecret (where men are tempted to too much boldneſs:) And what but a ſpirit of envy, or a carnal intereſt croſs to the intereſt of Chriſt and mens ſalvation, ſhould grudge at ſuch Preaching, while we are reſponſible for all that we ſay or do amiſs, we cannot tell.

XXXIX. Nor can we tell, if our *not ſwearing, or not entering into the Biſhops National Covenant*, be as great a crime as our penalties import, why no other mulct or penalty will ſerve turn to expiate *ſuch crimes*; but our ceaſing to preach the Goſpel of Salvation, while we are willing to do it under the ſtricteſt Laws of Peace and Order.

XL. It is viſible that the Pariſh-Churches of thoſe Miniſters (*cæteris paribus*) are fulleſt of Auditors, who are moſt willing that the Nonconformiſts help them in due time and place, and deſire to live with them in Love and Concord: For all that have the ſpirit of holy *love and peace*, do love thoſe that have the ſame ſpirit: And ſuch ſerious, holy Conformiſts as *Bolton, Whately, Fenner, Preſton, Sibbs, Stoughton, Gouge*, and ſuch other, were formerly as much crouded after as Nonconformiſts: But it is thoſe that Preach againſt holy Love and Concord, and wrangle with the moſt Religious ſort whom they ſhould encourage, whoſe Congregations are thineſt (uſually) through the tepidity of their followers, and the diſtaſte of others.

XLI. When we read in the Council of *Calced.* the

the *Egyptian* Bishops crying so long *miseremini, miserimini*, lying prostrate on the earth, even when they could say, *Non dissentimus*, and begging of their fellow Bishops for their lives and consciences, and their Brethren crying against all [*Away with them, They are Heretick*s] while they professed the same Faith; while the men that with such out-crys were condemning those of their own confession, had newly cryed, *Omnes peccavimus*, for condemning *Flavianus*, and the Truth, and saying, that *they did it for fear*, and owned that Eutychianism, which yet these *Egyptian* Bishops now disowned. it mindeth us that even Bishops had need to be remembred, that while the wheel is turning, the *upper side* should not tempt men to forget what side will be uppermost shortly and for ever.

Additions: more particularly of National Churches.

§ 1. THere are some worthy persons who plead more specially for *National Churches* as of Divine Institution, whose Doctrine calls us to a special consideration of it. But though some of us have oft desired it, we have not hitherto obtained any satisfaction what they mean by *A National Church*, or any true definition which they agree in: Some of them deride us for doubting and asking the question, and some answer it to the increase of our doubt.

§ 2. It must be presupposed that we speak not of a meer Community that hath no Pastors, but strictly of a Society called by some Political, by others

others *Organized*, constituted of Pastors and People mutually related; which is the ordinary sense of the word [*Church.*] And we must premise what being commonly agreed on, is none of our doubt or question.

§. 3. The question is not whether any, or all Nations and Kingdoms should be Christians, and so be the Kingdoms of Christ: That's past doubt. 2. Nor is it whether in such Kingdoms the King be the Head, as to the power of the sword; that is, a Christian Civil Governour of a Christian People that are his Subjects. We daily pray that the Kingdoms of the world may all be Christian; and we believe that their Kings are the Governours by the sword, of all the Clergy, as well as others. 3. Nor is the question whether Kings may call all their Kingdoms into a holy Covenant with God (by lawful means) giving them an example first themselves. 4. Nor do we contend about an Equivocal Name, whether a *Christian Kingdom*, as such, may be called a *National Church*. 5. No nor whether a *Christian Nation*, governed by a Heathen or Mahometan King, may be called a Christian Church or Kingdom; or a Protestant Nation ruled by a Papist King, is to be called a Protestant Kingdom or Church: for this is but about bare *names*. 6. Nor do we question whether a Christian King may make such accidental disparity between the Pastors, as we have before described. 7. Nor yet whether the Pastors of one Kingdom may associate and hold Synods for Unity and Counsel, and be named a *National Church*, as they are such Associations, obliged to Concord.

§. 4. But our doubts are these; 1. Whether it

be in it self specially instituted by God, that every Kingdom or Nation of Christians shall have [*One summam Potestatem essentialiter Ecclesiasticam*, or one *Priest-Head*, (whether a *single person*, or an *Aristocracy*, or a *Common Synod*) as a constitutive part of the National Church. 2. Whether this *Priest-Head* (whether High Priest, or Council,) stand in subordination to the King, as part of the same formal Church, as a General, or a Viceroy, that maketh not a distinct Kingdom, (though he may make a distinct subordinate Society as an Army, City, &c.) or is he Head of a coordinate different species, so as that the same Kingdom shall be two Policies formally, *viz.* a Christian Kingdom or Royal Church, and a Priestly Church; each being supream in their proper species, and both made coordinate by Christ; and so they are formally two Churches National. About the Jews the Controversie is made by Dissenters (*e. g. Galaspie, Coleman, Selden*, &c.) exceeding difficult. 3. Whether the very Jewish Church-Policy be established by Christ for the Christian Church, or be repealed? 4 Whether the said Ecclesiastical Head must be *One* as the High Priest, or an Aristocracy of many, or a Synod of the whole Clergy? or whether it be left indifferent which? 5. Or whether God hath ordained such a National Church-form, only by the general Command of doing all things in Order and Unity and to Edification? 6 Which is the Priestly-Head, or highest Governour of the Church of *England*, which is a constitutive part, as a King in a Kingdom? 7. Who is it that chooseth or authorizeth the National Priestly Head, that we may know when we have a lawful Chief Pastor,

and

and when an Usurper? 8. Whether the King or he, is to be obeyed in Circumstances, or matters Ecclesiastical, if they differ, and make contrary Laws? Without the solution of these questions, the *name* of a *National Church* will not be understood, nor of any practical importance. Our own thoughts of them are as followeth.

§ 5. It is certain, that the *Mosaical* Law made for the Jews peculiar republick, as such, is abrogate; not only the Ceremonial part, but all: All that was not then made for all the world, is ceased; 1. Because the Common-wealth is ceased for which it was made: 2. The Holy Ghost expresly and frequently determineth it so; even of that Law that was written in stone, as such, 2 *Cor.*3.7.8,9,10 11. *Heb.*7.12.19. *Gal.* 4.21,*&c.* 3. 24. The natural part, and that which was instituted positively long before for perpetuity, were both of them God's Laws before *Moses*'s time, and as such, obliged other Nations, and so do still: The matter written in stone (except some few mutable particulars, as the seventh day Sabbath, &c.) is such as we are still obliged to, 1. By Nature, 2. By Christ: But not as it was part of the *Jews peculiar Mosaical Law.* Much less doth it bind all the world to its Policy.

§ 6 If the Jewish Law, either as such, or as stablished by Christ for his Kingdom, did bind all the world to this day, then it would bind them to their Civil Policy, as much at least as to their Ecclesiastical. But few Christians think that it binds them to their Civil Policy. For if it did, then, 1. All Nations that have varied from it to this day, have sinned: 2. No diversity of Govern-

Governments could be lawful: 3. Then it would perplex men, to be sure, whether it be the old *Mosaical* form by Judges, or the later Regal form that bindeth: 4. Then such a Civil Council or Sanhedrim as was appointed the Jews, would be a Divine Establishment and not variable at the will of Kings or People. Many other things would follow, which Kings would not easily believe.

§ 7. There may be much more said for the continuance of the Jews civil Policy than for their Ecclesiastical: For there is much more *forbidden* of the latter, than of the former; Though all nations be not bound to their civil policie, they may set it up if they please; They are not prohibited: For Christ hath not made new Laws for civil States as such; But he hath made new *Church Laws*, and thereby altered, yea prohibited much of the old.

§ 8. We know no more reason why the Jewish form should bind us, than that which was before the Jews: and particularily *Melchezedeks*, who was a *King and Priest*: God owned both and commandeth us neither, at least as in conformity to them.

§ 9. The Holy Ghost saith expresly *Heb.* 7. 11. 12. That perfection was not by the Levitical Priesthood, and that the *Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change of the Law*, which is called, *the Law of a carnal Cammandment, verse* 16. *and that there is a disanulling of the Commandement going before for the weakness and unprofitableness of it; for the Law made nothing perfect, v.* 18, 19. the Covenant or Law being not faultless a new one doth succeed it *v.* 7. 8. 9. 10. The first Tabernacle is not standing which had their ordi-

ordinances of divine service and a worldly sanctuary: *Heb.* 9 1.8. 11. He taketh away the first Law and Priesthood, that he may establish the second, *Heb.* 10. 8, 9 11. 16. 17, &c.

§ 10. Whilest it is agreed on, that the essentials of the work or office of the Jewish Priests is ceased, (as *Heb.* 7. and 8, 9, and 10 shew,) and their Title by birth, and the appropriation to one Tribe, &c. it followeth that the Jewish Priesthood is ceased. But yet we confess that Christ, if he had pleased, *might have setled* a High Priest and Council like theirs in every nation for his own work. But if the old form bind us not, we are left only to enquire what new one is setled by Christ, and whether he have done so or not.

§ 11. We justly maintain against the Anabaptists, that Infants relation to the Covenant, and the universal Church (as members) was not repealed by Christ, because it was not founded only on the Law of *Moses*: which if it had, it were as such repealed

§ 12. The Holy Ghost by the Apostles *Acts* 15. hath declared to all the Churches of the Gentiles that they are not bound to keep the Law of *Moses*, and hath absolved us from all, saving things antecedently, and on other reasons necessary. *verse.* 28.

§ 13 If the Jews form of Government be ours, then the High-Priest must have the power of the Sword, or sit in judgment for life or death, as *Deut.* 17. 12, 13. and other places shew: But many Papists and Protestants are agreed that the clergy have no power of the Sword, or force, unless the King make them also Magistrates.

§ 14. It is a matter of so great importance to the

the Church to know whom we must obey, that it is not to be thought that any way is made necessary by Christ, which he hath not made intelligible and certain to be indeed his will: Especially when the Apostles strove who should be the chief, and two of them made it their request; and when the *Corinthians* and others were ready to set up one before another, and say I am of *Cephas*, &c.

§ 15. Yea Christ on this occasion expressly forbad them to seek to be one above another, and told them that though Kings exercise authority, and have magnifying Titles, with them it should not be so, but their preeminence should consist as that of a servant in humility and service unto others *Luk.* 22. which will not stand (as we suppose) with establishing the Jewish order.

§ 16. And *Pauls* reproof of their making a Church head of *Cephas*, *Paul*, *or Apollo*, or taking them to be other than *helps* of their faith, (and not Lords of it) and Ministers by whom they believed, even then when Schisms made it necessary to have known to whom they must appeal and adhere if that had been the way, doth further confirm what we say.

§ 17. The argument that some worthy persons bring, from the Prophesies that Nations should be converted unto Christ; and that the Kingdom should be taken from the Jews, and given to a Nation that would bring forth the fruits of it *Matth.* 21. 43. and that the Kingdomes of the world are made the Kingdoms of Christ, and that *Egypt* and *Assyria* should be converted and equalled with the Jews, &c. do indeed shew that there should be Christian Kings and Kingdoms;

which

which the Apostles were sent to endeavour, *Mat.* 28.19. to *convert Nations:* But here is nothing, that we can perceive, to prove that these Christian Nations must have the Jewish Church Policy.

§ 18. Nay contrary, the Church is said to be built on the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, *Eph.*2.20. and not of the *Mosaical* Policy of Priesthood, *Rev.*21.14. It hath twelve foundations.

§ 19. It is said, *Zech.* 2. 11. Many Nations shall be joyned to the Lord, and shall be my people. So *Zech.* 8. 22. *Isa.*65. 1. *Rom.* 10. 20. *Isa.* 2.2. & 55. 5. *Hos* 2.23. *Isa.*60.3. & 49. 22. But not a word in all this, of the old form of Policy or Priesthood, but Contrarily, that the *Law should come out of Zion, and a new Covenant should be made:* And it is certain that so large a history as we have of Christ's performances, is a far clearer light than obscure Prophecies; and darker texts must be explained by the plainer, and not contrarily.

§ 20. We see not how the Synod *Act.* 15. maketh any thing for a National High Priest or Sanedrim, or any like Policy: For 1. It appeareth to be no act of proper *National Government*, but did bind other Churches as well as those within the Empire. 2. It was an arbitration at the request of doubting persons; and it was not the Relation of the Arbitrators to one seat of National Power (as the Metropolis) that was respected, but the *quality of the persons sent to*, who would have been equally obeyed had they dwelt in the least Village of another Land. 1. There were the Apostles that had the promise

of the Holy Ghoſt: 2. There were *many* whom the people muſt needs more confide in than in one; eſpecially whoſe power was queſtioned by gainſayers. 3. Both Apoſtles, Elders and Brethren there were ſuch as had ſeen, or were neer to Chriſt and his works, and therefore likelieſt to know his mind. 4. They were Jews themſelves, and therefore moſt impartial Judges in the point that Jewiſh Teachers troubled them about, ſo far as that they might well acquieſce when Jews themſelves reſolved them. And when the Apoſtles were diſperſed, we find not any more *Jeruſalem*-Councils Governing the Imperial Churches.

§ 21. If that Councils Authority were properly *National*, and aroſe from the prerogative of *Jeruſalem*, then 1. All the Apoſtles, when ſcattered, would have been ſubject to *James*, the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, (thought to be no Apoſtle:) 2. Then *Jeruſalem* might have after claimed the Supremacy as of Divine right, before *Alexandria*, *Antioch* or *Rome*. But it is certain by experience that the whole Church was of another mind, when *Jeruſalem* had not ſo much as the fifth or loweſt Patriarchate, till long after by another grant. But if the Power was not fixed to the place, but the Itinerant Apoſtles, then it is nothing to prove any Governing Church over others, as being affixed to ſuch a place: Nor ſhall we eaſily find the Apoſtles Itinerant Succeſſours in that power.

§ 22. II. It is certain that Chriſt choſe twelve Apoſtles (beſides *Paul*) who had a preeminence before other Miniſters; and that he joyned with them ſome Prophets and Evangeliſts, appointing them all to gather Churches through the world, diſcipling

discipling and baptizing Nations, and teaching them all things that he commanded (a work to be still done, and to which he promised his presence to the end of the world:) And that these having gathered Converts, set over them fixed Bishops (or Pastors or Elders) to be their *constant Guides*, in *Teaching*, *Publick Worship*, and *Discipline*, under Christ the great Prophet, Priest and King of the Church. And that to the Apostles first, and by them to others, he gave them the Keys (that is, the Judging Power of reception, and rejection, and the Official Power of pronouncing God's reception or rejection of them according to his Word.)

§ 23. There is not the least evidence that these Apostles did affix a Superiour Power over the other Churches to any particular seats, Patriarchal or Metropolitan, much less National; or that any of them exercised Government over the rest; or that they themselves did fix themselves as Bishops to any twelve or thirteen Cities in the world; much less to twelve Kingdoms.

§ 24. There is no notice in Church-history of any one National Church-power (Priest or Synod) setled, asserted or exercised under Heaven, of above three hundred years. *Egypt* and *Assyria* that were propheſied to be Christian Nations, never were distinct Christian Kingdoms, but parts of the Empire; nor had a National Church or Head (being but parts of such a Church:) Nay, when *Rome* got the National Primacy, it had not such a Priestly Governing Soveraignty as the Jews High-Priest had.

§ 25. Though there was no Christian King for

three hundred years (unleſs he of *Edeſſa*, or *Lucius* of *England*, of whom we have little certainty; but it's like that both were ſubjects to others) yet if a Supream Church-Power had been neceſſary, the Apoſtles would have before erected it; which they never did: For even *Rome* pretendeth to be by them made the Ruler of the whole world, and not a meer National Head (which *Conſtantinople* claimed, but not as of Apoſtolical inſtitution.)

§ 27. The queſtion whether the Jews, had they believed, ſhould have continued their High-Prieſt and Church-Policy, is vain as to our purpoſe; 1. It being certain to Chriſt that they would be diſſolved by unbelief: And 2. he having ſetled another way, and changed theirs: 3. And if their Prieſthood and Law (except as it typified ſpiritual things) had ſtood, yet it would not have bound the Gentile Chriſtians in other Nations.

§ 28. When Emperours became Chriſtians, they did not ſet up the Jewiſh Policy, nor thought themſelves bound to it; no nor any ſetled Prieſtly Supremacy for National Government: For Councils were called but on rare accidents by the Emperours themſelves, and to decide particular caſes about Hereſies: And the Pope had but the firſt voice in ſuch Councils.

§ 29. But if every Nation muſt have the Jewiſh Policy, then the whole Empire muſt then have one High Prieſt, and then the Pope hath a fair pretence to his claim of a Divine Inſtitution, as the Church Soveraign of the whole Empire, which, it's like, was then ſeven parts in eight of the whole Chriſtian world at leaſt, (unleſs *Abaſ-*

ſia

sia were then generally Christians, as now.) But then his power would change with the Empire, and fall when it falleth.

§ 30. III. But if the question be only *whether* a National Priestly Soveraignty be lawful? or whether God's general Rules (for *Concord, Order, Edification*) do bind the Churches prudentially to erect such a form? To this they say as followeth. 1. We will first lay hold on certainties, and not prefer uncertainties before them. We are sure that such a power of Apostles and Pastors as is before mentioned, was established; and that the *junior* Pastors were as Sons to the *seniors*, ordained by them: Whether the power of Ordaining and Governing Ministers was by Apostolical Establishment appropriated to men of a superiour degree in the sacred Ministry, seemeth to us very dark. 2. We are past doubt that all particular Churches, by Apostolical order, had Bishops; and that a Church was, as *Hierom* saith, *Plebs Episcopo adunata*, and as *Ignatius*, the Unity of every Church was notified by this, that to *every Church there was one Altar and one Bishop* (at that time) and as *Cyprian*, *Ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia.* 3. And we are satisfied, that every Presbyter is *Episcopus Gregis*, whoever claim to be *Episcopi Episcoporum* (which the *Carthage* Council in *Cyprian* renounced.) 4. And we are satisfied that no Church-superiours have authority to destroy the particular Church-form, Ministry, Doctrine, Worship or Discipline, which were setled by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles; And that the priviledges and duties of these single particular Churches, being plainest and surest in Scripture, they must be continued whatever Canons or

Commands of any ſuperiour Prieſts ſhould be againſt them. 5. Nor can they force any man to ſin: 6. Nor have any Prieſts a forcing power, by the ſword or violence, but only the power of the Word and Keys, that is, of taking in, or putting out of the Church, where they have power, and binding men over, on juſt cauſe, to the judgment of God. The power that they have is from Chriſt, and for him, and not againſt him; and for the Churches edification, and not deſtruction; and what is pretended contrary to this, is none. They cannot diſpenſe with the Laws of God, but preach and execute them. 7. And theſe things being thus ſecured, though in our doubts we dare not ſwear or ſubſcribe that National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitical Powers are of God's inſtitution; yet we reſolve to live in all Chriſtian peaceableneſs and ſubmiſſion, when ſuch are over us.

§ 31. And we muſt profeſs that when we find how anciently and commonly *one* Presbyter in each Church was peculiarly called the Biſhop, without whom there was no (ordinary) ordinations, and againſt whom in matters of his power none was to reſiſt, and alſo how generally the Churches in the Roman Empire conformed themſelves to an imitation of the civil power (as to their limits) in all the official part (being all ſubject to the Emperour, who ſet up no Eccleſiaſtical Peer,) we are not ſo ſingular or void of reverence to thoſe Churches, as not by ſuch notices to be much the more inclined to the aforeſaid ſubmiſſion and peaceableneſs under ſuch a power; nor are we ſo bold or raſh as to reproach it or condemn the Churches and excellent

excellent persons that have practised it.

§ 32. Nay we have already said, that securing the state, worship, doctrine and true discipline of the inferiour particular (Parish) Churches, there are some of us that much incline to think that Archbishops, that is, Bishops that have some oversight of many Churches with their Pastors, are Lawful successours of the Apostles in the ordinary part of their work. And such of us have long ago said, that the Episcopal Government of the *Bohemian* Waldenses described by *Commenius* and *Lascitius*, is most agreable to our judgment of any that we know excercised: Therefore that which we humbly offered for our concord in *England* at His Majesties Restauration, was Archbishop *Vshers* form of the Primitive Church Government, not attempting any diminution of the Power, wealth or honour of the Dioceſanes or Archbishops, but only a restauration of the Presbyters to their proper Office-work, and some tolerable discipline to the particular Parish Churches.

§ 33. But we must ever much difference, so much of Church order and Government as God himself hath instituted, and is purely divine and unchangeable, from those accidentals which men ordain though according to Gods general Rules: For these are often various and mutable, and are means to the former, and never to be used against them. And of these accidentals of Government we say as they that say no such form is fixed by God. Concord, order & decency and edification are alwaies necessary, But oft times it may be indifferent whether concord, order and decency be expressed by this accidental way or that. And

that which is moſt congruous for order, decency, edification and concord in one Countrey, Church or time, may be incongruous in another. Therefore if the queſtion be but how far the giving one Biſhop or Paſtor power over others, or making diſparity of Cities in conformity to the ſtate, be prudently to be choſen; we only ſay, ſo that Gods eſtabliſhment be not violated, whatever we might think beſt, we preſume not herein to give Laws to the Lawgivers, nor to obtrude our Counſel uncalled, on our ſuperiours, much leſs ſeditiouſly to oppoſe their Lawful inſtitutions.

§ 34. But to thoſe that think that Gods foreſaid General Laws (of order, concord, edification) do make ſuch a policy ordinarily *neceſſary* in the Churches, as imitateth the Jews, or the civil form of Government, we humbly offer to their conſideration; 1. If ſo, then it would have been the matter of an Vniverſal Law, (with its due exceptions;) And then Chriſt the only Vniverſal Lawgiver would have made it: For if he have not made all *neceſſary Vniverſal Laws*, his Laws are imperfect; And then there ſhould be ſome other Vniverſal Lawgiver to ſupply that defect: But there is no other upon earth (whether Pope or Council) 2. It is contrary to the *nature of undetermined circumſtances* to be alwaies the ſame, and ſo to be fit matter of ſuch Vniverſal or fixed Laws: The caſes will vary, and then ſo will the duty; 3. There will be great diverſity of the intereſt, and ingeny of the Judges of the caſe in ſeveral Countries and ages: And therefore though ſome think the ſaid imitation of the civil ſtate alwaies beſt, yet others will not.

§ 35. But if ſuch a ſettlement were certainly beſt,

beſt, let it be remembred, 1. That the *Jews* had not under the chief High-Prieſt, one in every City or Tribe like Dioceſane Biſhops. 2. That their Synagogues had diſcipline within themſelves; ever where there was but a Village of ten perſons, there was a Presbyter that had the power of judging offenders.

§ 36. What man doth prudently ſet up, man may prudently alter as there is cauſe. *Greg. Nazianzen* earneſtly wiſheth that there were no difference of Place or ſeats among the Paſtors of the Church. And therefore he neither thought their Government of each other to be of Divine right, nor of prudential neceſſity or uſe: Elſe he would have been againſt it. And the whole Greek Church did, and ſtill doth take the ſeats of preeminence to be but of mans appointment, or elſe they would never have changed them, and ſet *Conſtantinople* ſo high as they did: And the Council of *Calcedon* expreſly determineth, that *Rome* was by the fathers made the chief ſeat becauſe it was the ſeat of the Emperour; which was mutable.

§ 37. The Councils in thoſe daies were about Popes or Patriarchs, and could depoſe them: And yet it is moſt evident to any man conſiderately reading ſuch hiſtory, that all the Councils, called before Chriſtian Emperours gave them more power and conjoyned their authority, did meet only for acts of *Agreement* and not of *Regiment* over each other: Many ſuch ſynods are mentioned by *Euſebius*: And the Right Reverend Arch-biſhop Uſher declared his judgment ſo in general that *Councils* had but an *agreeing power*, and not a *Regent power* over the particular Biſhops.

Yet

Yet these two things must be supposed, 1. That the Pastors in a synod are still Rectors of their flocks, and their Canons to them may be more authoritative than a single Pastors words: 2. That Gods Law bindeth us to keep love and concord, and the Agreements of Councils may determine of the matter in alterable points; and so even absent and present Bishops may, *concordiæ gratiâ*, be obliged by Gods Law to keep such canons as are made for concord, and so they may be the matter of our duty. But seeing the Church for 300 years, judged Councils to have no proper Governing power over particular Pastors; and Bishops, or Patriarchs singly had ever less power than Councils, it followeth that then a Churches Government of disparity and supraordinate Bishops like the civil, or like the *Jews*, was not then taken to be of divine right, nor then of any right at all.

§ 38. And as to the doubt [*whether it began after* 300 *years to be a prudential duty or at least most desirable*] when we hear what is said on both sides we think it not easie to judge, either how much in such a case Christ hath left to humane prudence, nor which way the scales of prudence herein will ordinarily turn. On one side it is said 1. That it is absurd that there should be no appeals for injured persons to a superiour power; 2. And that the dissensions of the Church else will be remediless, and all will be broken into heresies and sects; 3. And that Apostolical men of a higher rank than meer Presbyters will else have no convenient opportunity to excercise their Governing power, if it be not tyed to fixed seats.

§ 39.

§ 39. On the other side they plead; 1. That it is safer for the Church to have Religion in the power of *many Bishops* or Pastors, than that *one High Priest* or *Patriarch* should have power to corrupt it, or silence the faithful preachers, or persecute the people when ever he proveth a bad man: Yea they say it must be rare if he be not bad, seeing it is certain that the most proud and worldly men (which are the worst) will be the most earnest seekers of rich and honourable places; and he that seeketh will usually find. 2. They say Christ directly forbad this to his Apostles *Luk.*22. That which they strove for was it that he forbad them: But that which they strove for was who should be the chief or greatest (and not who should tyrannize) 3. They say that all Church history assureth us that there have been more Schisms and scandalous contentions about the great superiour Bishopricks far, than any of the rest: It is a doleful thing to read the history of the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Constantinople*, and *Rome*: *Gregory Nazianzen* giveth it as the reason, why the contention at *Cesarea* was so lamentable, because it was so high an Archbishoprick. The whole Christian world hath been scandalized, torn and distracted by the strife of Bishops of and for the highest seats. Their famous General Councils which we justly honour for their function and that which they did well, were shamefully militant: even the first and most honoured Council at *Nice*, was with great difficulty kept in Peace by the personal presence, wisdom and authority of *Constantine*, preaching peace to the preachers of peace, burning their libels of mutual accusation,

tion, & silencing their contentious wranglings and constreining them to accord. *Nazianzens* descriptions of the ignorance and insolence, and naughtiness of the Clergy, *Orat* 1. and of the shameful state of the Bishops, *Orat.* 32. must make the readers heart to grieve, The people he describeth as contentious at *Constantinople* yet as *endued with the Love of God, though their zeal wanted knowledge, pag,* 528. But (the *Courtiers,* as whether true to the *Emperours he knew not, but for the greatest part perfidious to God: And the Bishops as sitting on adverse thrones, and feeding adverse opposite flocks, drawn by them into factions, like the clefts that Earthquakes make, and the pestilent diseases that infect all about, and distracting and dividing all the world, separating the East from the West, by the noise, of meus et tuus, antiquus et novus; nobilior aut ignobilior; multitudine opulentior aut tenuior; raging like furious horses in battel, and like madmen casting dust into the air, and under their heads fulfilling their own contentions and becoming the determiners of wicked ambition and magnificence, and unrighteousnes and absurd Judges of matters: The same men* (saith he) *are to day of the same throne* (or side) *and judgement, as we are, if so our leaders and chief men carry them: To morrow if the wind do but turn, they are for the contrary seat, and judgement. Names* (*or votes*) *follow hatred or friendship: And which is most grievous, we blush not to say contrary things to the very same hearers; nor are we constant to our selves, being changed up and down by contention; you would say we are tossed like the waving Euripus*: Therefore he professeth it unseemly for him to joyn with them as he would not leave his studies and peace,

to

to go play with the Lads in the streets, *pag.* 524. The like he hath in his Poems *de vita sua, pag.* 24, 25, 26, 27. Οἱ γὰρ πρόεδροι, &c.

" *Etenim Magistri plebis atque antistites,*
" *Sancti datores spiritus, & qui thronis*
" *Fundunt ab altis verba queis patitur salus,*
" *Cunctisq; pacem jugiter qui prædicant,*
" *In æde media vocibus clarissimis,*
" *Tanto furore se petunt sibi invicem*
" *Tumultuando, contrahendo copias,*
" *Carpendo sese mutuo linguâ efferâ,*
" *Saliendo, mentis ut solent sanæ impotes*
" *Prædando quos quis ante prædari queat*
" *Rabida imperandi dum tenet mente sitis;*
" *(Quinam ista verbis, & quibus digne eloquar?)*
" *Orbem universum prorsus ut divulserint,*
" *Ortumq; jam & Hesperum scindit magis*
" *Ardens simultas, quam loci vel climata;*
" *Namq; illa si non finis, & media uniunt;*
" *At hos ligare vinculum nullum potest:*
" *Non causa, Pietas, (bilis hoc excogitat*
" *Ad mentiendum prona,) sed Lis ob Thronos:*
" *Quidnam hoc vocarim? Præsules? Non Præsules.*

[* Some say that *Gregory* himself forsook the place; but it was when he saw that they would put him out: Some say that it was not the same Council that put him in, but it is an errour. When *Meletius* was dead, more Bishops came from *Egypt* and turned the stream. And they named many to succed him, to the Emperour; out of whom he chose an unbaptized Layman *Nectarius Niceph. l.* 12. *c.* 15. so that the Emperour then chose the Bishop in that manner.]

Are not these doleful Narratives and Characters of those Primitive Bishops (even in those happy

happy daies of good *Theodosius*? But all this is yet little to what the same man saith of Bishops in his last Oration *de Episcopis, Vol.* 2. too sharp and large to recite. Perhaps it will be said, that it was the *Macedonian* or *Arrian* Bishops that he meant: So one Papist was not ashamed to answer me, when the whole scope of his writing speaketh the contrary, that he spake of the Council at *Constantinople*, and other such, and expresly saith in his *Epist.* 59. to *Sophronius, pag.* 816. *si eos inveneritis non ob fidei doctrinam, sed ob privatas simultates inter se distractos & divulsos, quod quidem ipse observavi.* But some will say that he was wrongfully cast out by that Council of *Constantinople*, and he speaketh but of that, or that injury *made him satyrical by exasperation.* But 1. The places cited shew that he speaketh not of that Council only: And *Epist.* 55. *Procopio pag.* 814. he saith (refusing to come to a Council) *ego si vera scribere oportet hoc animo sum, ut Omnem Episcoporum Conventum fugiam: quoniam nullius concilii finem lætum & faustum vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potius quam accessionem & incrementum habuerit: pertinaces enim contentiones & dominandi cupiditates (ne me quæso gravem & molestum existimes hæc scribentem) ne ullis quidem verbis explicari queant, citiusque aliquis improbitatem arcessetur, dum aliis judicem se præbet, quam ut aliorum improbitatem comprimat.*] And that injury made *Gregory* injurious is an injurious conjecture, seeing all his endeavours in these businesses were for piety and peace: And it was partly for his speaking for the Peace of the Church of *Antioch*, (which had long had two Bishops, *Paulinus* and *Meletius*, and *Flavianus*, who had taken an oath

not

not to be their Bishop while either of them lived, intruded by Perjuries and the Bishops wills) that this Council turned against *Gregory*; (and because they chose him not.) And for peace he quit his place; and many and earnest Epistles he wrote after to the Civil Magistrates, to keep the Bishops in peace at the next Councils, lest Religion should be quite shamed and weakened by them. And was not the contention at the two Councils of *Ephesus* more stigmatized by Historians than this that *Gregory* so lamenteth? when they seemed rather to fight, than peaceably to seek for Truth; in the latter of which *Flavianus* received his deaths hurt, and the history of the better of them between *Cyril*, and *Nestorius*, and *Johan. Antiochenus*, is sad to read.

The very controversie with its consequence was lamentable when one Council of Bishops at *Constantinople* had cast out excellent *Gregory*; another neer cast out excellent *Chrysostom*, his free speech and strict life being not endured, and chose an old useless man *Arsacius*; *Atticus*, and *Sisinius* that succeeded him being dead, the people did so dislike all the clergy of *Constantinople*, that they would have one like *Chrysostom* of a Monastery by *Antioch*; *Nestorius* a man of study, retirement, a poor garb, a strict life, abhorring publick contentions, and loving quietness, but of a pievish zeal against dissenters called hereticks, as enemies to the Churches unity and peace; so that he presently persecuted many of them even the *Novatians* themselves, and stirred up the Emperour to root them all out, and by Gods just judgement received such measure as he had measured. A quarrel arose whether Saint

Mary

Mary should be called *The Mother or Parent of MAN, or that Parent of GOD*: *Nestorius, to* the end the controversie, was against both, and would have her called, *The Parent of Christ who was God and man* (*but not of God*:) Some Startled at this; And *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (a man of great parts, spirit and power, the head of a turbulent people, the first Bishop, saith *Socrates*, that *assumed the Sword*) wrote Letters of reproof to him; and *Celestine*, Bishop of *Rome* seconded him: yea *Cyril* followeth it with writing upon writing, to prove that S. *Mary* must be called *the Parent of God*; with so great a number of words, and so many Anathematisms, as made the noise and flame great, but ambiguity made it seem dangerous to many; so that it grew to a great and open controversie, whether *Nestorius* or *Cyril* was a damnable Heretick; some so calling one, and some the other; so that the Emperour *Theod.* 2. was fain to call a General Council at *Ephesus*, to prevent the utter confusion of the Churches: There *Nestorius* came first, and once only appeared; and being charged with the Heresie of denying *Mary* to be the *Parent of God*, he told them, *that he would not say that God was two or three months old*, and so departed. To *Cyrils* large writings, he returned a short Letter, professing, *that he was for the distinction of Natures only in the Unity of Person*; but at large proveth that Christs Godhead had *no beginning*, that it could not *suffer, or die, nor rise again*; and therefore that those things which were said of the *Manhood*, must not be said of the *Godhead*, that it was *begotten, dyed, &c.* unless they would be Hereticks or Pagans. Read their confession

brought

brought into the Council against them by *Charysius* and their Anathemata's after; and I think you will see, that the errour of *Nestorius* lay in his want of skill in speaking, and that one side spoke of a phrase *de abstracto*, and the *other* of the *Concrete*; and if so, both meant the same thing, though *Cyril* was judged to use the most skilful words: *Cyril* denyed not but that the *Deity* was not *begotten* or *Crucified*, but said that *God was begotten* and *Crucified*, and *was passible*; *Nestorius* denyed not that he who was God in one person with the manhood, was begotten, Crucified and passible, but not the *Deity*. But *Cyril* said that the phrase [*God was born, Crucified*, &c.] was good; yea necessary, and not (without anathematized heresie) to be denyed, because in one person the *titles* and actions are communicable: *Nestorius* said, that it was wicked to communicate the infirmities of humanity to the Deity, as to say, *God did grow bigger, and was afraid, and was hungry, and needed help from Angels, and died.*) For he thought this phrase applied it to the Deity: (Let any man that's impartial, judge whether this Controversie were not about *words* rather than *matter*.) *Theodoret* was a greater Scholar than *Nestorius*, and he became the Champion of his Cause, supposing that *Locutio formalis est maxime propria*; and therefore that he that saith *God had a beginning, increase, death, passions*, must be supposed to mean it, *qua Deus*, as he is God: And so two Saints, St. *Cyril* and St. *Theodoret*, fell at large to prove each other damnable Hereticks. *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, being far off, was long in coming to the Synod. *Memnon*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, joyning with *Cyril*, before he Bishops came, began and condemned, and

depoſed *Neſtorius* as a Heretick. *Neſtorius* let them all alone, and medled little himſelf, alledging that *Candidianus Comes* forbad him to appear. But when *John* of *Ant.* came, he took *Neſtorius*'s part, and gathered a Council with himſelf, and *Candidianus* the Emperours Officer took his part. *John*'s Council condemned and depoſed *Cyril* and *Memnon*, as they *had* done *Neſtorius*: And thus two Councils at *Epheſus* ſate damning one another. The Emperour knew not what to do with them, but requireth each party to ſend ſome of their Biſhops to him: when they came, he permitted them not long to come neerer than *Calcedon*, for fear of tumults: while they were there, the people of *Conſtantinople* flocked to them, and moſt of the people being for *Neſtorius*, and moſt of the Courtiers, Clergy and Monks againſt him, they fell into diſſention to the ſtoning of ſome about their Meetings, for Preaching to the People. *Theodoret* and his Aſſociates proſecuted it againſt *Cyril*, as thoſe that declared their reſolution to die rather than yield to his Hereſies (as they called them) and accuſed him as if he had been the moſt proud, unquiet troubler of the world. The other ſide anſwerably accuſed them of dangerous blaſphemy and hereſie. At laſt the Emperour thought it the beſt way for peace, to ſend *Johan. Comes Largitionum* with power and commiſſion to depoſe the Leaders that each Party had depoſed, *viz.* *Neſtorius*, and *Cyril* and *Memnon*: But *John* wrote an Epiſtle to the Emperour, how furious they were againſt each other, and how *Cyril*'s Party would not hear the Emperour's Letters, becauſe *Neſtorius* was there, and how they raged and fell to fighting (a dole-

ful

ful story.) But at last the Emperour seeing that *Cyril* had the stronger (and the orthodox) side, and the Court and Clergy being against *Nestorius*, and yet being loth to divide *Joh. Antioch.* and the Oriental Bishops from the rest, thought it the most healing way to depose *Nestorius* alone, and restore *Cyril* and *Memnon*, and to charge (*magnâ cum severitate jubet*, saith *Bin.* Notes) *Joh. Ant.* to be reconciled with *Cyril*, and to unite; so that *Joh.* and *Theodoret*, and the Oriental Bishops moved with fear, and desiring peace, sent their Confession to *Cyril*, and *Cyril* said, it was the same that he meant; and so they were suddenly made all Orthodox, that had not understood it but by the Rod: But *Nestorius* returned to his Monastery by *Antioch* (*Chrysostom's* place) and there liv'd four years in great peace and reputation; but then he was no longer to be there endured, but banished into forein Countries, driven about in sufferings, in which he died. And *Theodoret*, it seems, was not well reconciled, when, hearing of the death of *Cyril*, he wrote to *Joh. Antioch.* that now there was hope the Churches might have peace, the great enemy of all peace being gone to the place where such men cease to trouble, &c. But so great was the rupture thus made, that to this day it is not healed, great part of the East adhering then to *Nestorius*, and those Country-Christians being called *Nestorian* Hereticks and out of the Church by the Papists to disgrace them, because they will not own their Pope *Nestorius* being thus condemned, *Eutyches* thought he would be far enough from his Heresie, and said, that the *Union of Christ's two Natures made them to be but one*: This Heresie one

Council at *Constant.* under *Flavian*, condemned. Another after by the countenance of the Emperour acquit him: The Emperour *Theod.* 2. commandeth a General Council again at *Ephesus*, and maketh *Dioscorus* President; who being *Cyril*'s Successor, though he had held to his Doctrine against *Nestorius*, for the *Unitive Predication*; and though he professed that the Synod medled not *de fide*, but about matter of Justice between *Flavian* and *Eutyches*, yet countenanced by the Emperour, he domineered, and by threatning got all the General Council save the Popes Legates to subscribe against *Flavian*, and he was beaten, and died of the hurt, saith *Bin.* Notes, *In hoc tam horrendo Episcoporum suffragio sola Navicula Petri incolumis emergens, salvatur.* The whole Council went against the Pope, and the right: But sure Christ's United Natures are in several senses both *two* and *one*; but two in the primary and most proper sense.

Thus you see what unhappiness even this National Government of Bishops in those good times was lyable to. It was by Bishops striving who should be chief that the *Donatists* set up against the Catholicks, and the very *Novatians* were not free; much less the *Appolinarians*, and most others that caused the Schisms of those times, in which the Bishops were almost ever the chief cause. Even such worthy men as *Theophilus*, *Alex.* and *Epiphanius* could not endure *Chrysostom*; such men ejected him once and again, as *Theodoret* saith he purposely forbeareth to name for reverence of their virtues. And if you come to the fourth Great General Council at *Calcedon* you will find the same cause of lamentation

tation, and that even worthy men in such temptations are frail, when a new Emperour *Martian* was on the other side, (the right;) when *Dioscorus* had professed that he was neither for *transmutation*, *division*, *nor confusion of Christs natures* (and therefore was for *distinction*;) when the *Egyptian* Bishops professed their consent with the Synod, only craving that they might not be put to Anathematize *Dioscorus* till they had another Patriarch, but so long to delay; when they professed that if they did, they were sure to be killed when they came home, and falling on the Earth cryed to their brethren *miseremini miseremini* spare us or kill us here; yet they cry out hereticks, hereticks, away with them, till the civil Judges rescued them: and how many of these had but lately subscribed against *Flavianus* at *Ephesus*, (& here were in one point for *Leo*, and in another against him?) *Leo's* Epistle which was for their cause against *Dioscorus* they cryed up; and condemned *Dioscorus* for excommunicating the Pope; but the Canon for exalting *Constantinople*, they maintained against *Leo's* will, and contemptuously cryed out *Qui aliter sentiunt Romam ambulent*; he that readeth the *clamours* at this Council, and how the same Bishops that had lately subscribed the condemnation of *Flavianus* with *Dioscorus* were zealous here on the other side, and cryed out *omnes peccavimus*, excusing it by their fear of threatnings and Souldiers, when a poor Christian woman could have suffered Martyrdom rather than sin; And he that readeth how after all this they were so ready to Anathematize others, and to contemn the prostrate *Egyptian* Bishops, will

that he seeth the first Council of *Constantinople* as described by *Nazianzen* here exemplified, notwithstanding the honour that is due to them for their orthodoxnes. You see in this much how the great Bishops at the first five General Councils (*Nic.* 1. *Const.* 1. *Eph.* 1. & 2. And *Calced.*) did carry it. But when they were asunder were they setled, & did they keep the Churches in concord by these Councils? Let us but, for one instance, consider what followed this excellent Council of *Calcedon*; 1. *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome* approved it against *Dioscorus*, but abhorred the 28th Canon, which set up *Constantinople* with equal priviledges, and that above *Alexandria* and *Antioch*: So that the Pope rested not in this Council. 2. What sedition there was at *Alexandria* upon the change made by this Council all the daies of *Martian*, and of the murder of *Proterius* presently after, *Liberatus in Breviario*, and many other tell at large. 3. In *Palestine* the Monks that had been at the Council, returned lamenting that the faith was there betraved, and stird up their fraternity to rescind the acts: They expelled *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; The Empress *Eudocia* took their part: They killed *Severianus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*: They compelled men to communicate with them: They murdered *Athanasius* a Deacon at *Jerusalem* for contradicting them, and gave his flesh to dogs; They compelled *Dorotheus* the Emperours Lieutenant to joyn with them, till after 20 months, *Juvenal* was restored *Niceph. l.* 15. *c.* 9. And in many Countries this contention followed; and the women *Eudocia aud Pulcheria* had no small hand in all, till *Pulcheria* procured *Eudocias* Conversion to approve the Council.

3. Where

3. When *Leo* came to reign, the ſedition revived at *Alexandria* between the murderers of *Proterius*: *Timothy Elurus* made Biſhop by the Councils enemies, depoſed by *Leo*, and *Timothy*, *Salophaciolus* put in his place and all was in confuſion. The *Egyptian* Biſhops write to the Emperour againſt the *Eutychians*; The Emperour ſends forth his circular letters for the Council; *Niceph. l.* 15. *c.* 17. 18. 19. 4. At *Antioch*, *Petrus*, *Capheus* ambitious of the Biſhoprick, got into *Martyrius* place by *Leo's* help, and anathematized all that would not ſay that *God was Crucified and Suffered*, and tore that Church in pieces: *Martirius*, when he could do no good, forſook them, with theſe words [*Clero rebelli et populo inobedienti & eccleſiæ contaminatæ nuncium remitto*:] *Cnapheus* reviled the Council: *Leo* for this baniſhed him: *Stephanus*, a friend of the Council, ſucceeded him; him boyes killed with ſharp quils and caſt him into the river for favouring the Council: And *Calendion* ſucceeding him, made them Anathematize the aforeſaid *Cnapheus*. *Leo* being dead, diſſolute *Zeno* reigned *Baſiliſcus* taking advantage of his lewd life, uſurped the Empire, and made uſe of the Schiſms to promote his ends: And firſt publiſheth his circular againſt the Council of *Calcedon*; to this ſaith *Niceph. l.* 16. *c.* 4. beſides the three Patriarchs no leſs than five hundred Biſhops ſubſcribed, and renounced the Council. But *Acacius* of *Conſtantin.* and *Dav. Columella* perſwaded *Baſiliſcus* quickly to write clean contrary Letters for the Council, ſeeing that this was like to prove the ſtronger ſide. And when *Zeno* was reſtored, who was for the Council, the *Aſian* Biſhops turned again, and

wrote to *Acasius* to be pardoned, saying that they subscribed to *Basiliscus* first Letters, not voluntarily, but through fear *Nceph.l.* 16. *c.* 9. Then things were turned back again; till *Zeno* thought it the best way to write his *Henoticon* or a Conciliatory edict, that none should be forced to profess themselves either for or against the Council, perceiving that the Bishops would never come to agreement, either as for it or against it: But this ended not the divisions: But at *Antioch Calendion* was cast out. And *Pet. Cnapheus* got in again: And at *Alexandria* between *Peter Moggus* and *Iohn* striving who should hold the place, all was in confusion. Yea the Schism reached to *Rome* also; for *Moggus* at *Alexandria* Anathematizing the Council, and persecuting dissenters, The Emperour seeks to reconcile them; *Felix* at *Rome* condemneth *Acasius* at *Constantinople*, for communicating with *Moggus*: *Acasius* condemneth *Felix*, blotting his name out of the Sacred Albe. *Acasius* dyeth, and the Emperour found it so hard to choose a Patriarch, that should cause no sedition, that he will have God choose one; and to that end puts a blanck paper on the Altar, and another requesting God that an Angel might write there the name of the Patriarch that should possess the place: The doors are lock't, and forty daies fasting and prayer commanded to prevail with God: One *Flavitas* bribeth the Key-Keeper, who was the Emperours Lord Chamberlain, and he writeth, *Flavitas* name in the Paper and sealeth up the door again, and so there was a Patriarch chosen by an Angel; but dyed suddenly within four months: But before he dyed, he joyned with

Peter

Peter of Alexandria by synodal Letters to Anathematize the Council of *Calcedon* and yet wrote to the Bishop of *Rome* that he renounced Communion with *Peter*, and he wrote to *Peter* that he renounced Communion with the Bishop of *Rome*. *Euphemius* succeeded him, and he raised *Peters* name out of the Book, and joyned with the Roman Bishop. *Peter* and *Euphemius* as Generals were gathering synodical Armies against each other, and *Peter* dyeth. *Athanasius* that succeeded him, would fain have reconciled his Church but could not: *Palladius* succeeded *Peter Cnapheus* at *Antioch*: Both these Patriarchs joyn together to curse the Council of *Calcedon*; They die: *John* succeeded at *Alexandria* and *Flavianus* at *Antioch*: These also joyn to curse the Council, while the Patriarchs of *Rome* and *Constantinople* are for it, and curse them. *Zeno* dieth, and *Anastasius Dicorus* is chosen Emperour. He (saith *Niceph. l.* 16. *c.* 25.) being a man of Peace, and desiring the ceasing of all contention, left all to their liberty to think of the Council of *Calcedon* as they pleased: Hereupon the Bishops fell into three Parties, some fervent for every word of the Council; some cursed it; and some were for *Zeno*'s Henoticon, or silence, or suspension: These renounced communion accordingly with one another; the East was one way; the West another; and *Libya* another: Nay, the Eastern Bishops among themselves; the Western among themselves, and the Lybian among themselves, renounced communion with each other (*Niceph. c.* 25.) *Tanta confusio mentiumque Caligo* (saith the Historian) *orbem universum invasit*. The Emperour having resolved to keep peace, and

make

make no change, was forced to fall upon those of both sides that were most turbulent. At *Constantinople* he put out *Euphemius* (or for dislike of him.) This Emperour, before his inthroning, had given under his hand to *Euphemius*, a promise to stand for the Council: He demanded his writing again; *Euphemius* denied him, and was cast out: *Macedonius* succeeded him: He had the same writing: The Emperour demanded it of him: He also denied him: The Emperour would have put him out: The people rise up in sedition, and cryed, *It is a time of Martyrdom: Let us all stick to the Bishop*: And they reviled the Emperour, calling him a Manichee, unworthy the Empire. The Emperour was fain to submit to *Macedonius*, who sharply rebuked him as the Churches enemy; but in time he remembred this, and cast out *Macedonius*, and burnt the Councils Acts, and put *Timothy* in his place, who presently pull'd down the Image of *Macedonius*: The Patriarchs also of *Alex. Antioch*, & Bishop of *Jerusalem*, were all cast out, even those that were against the Council. *Pet. Cnapheus* had made one *Xenaias* a *Persian* servant & unbaptized, Bishop of *Hierapolis*: He was against Images, and brought a troop of Monks to *Antioch*, to force *Flavianus* the Bishop to curse the Council: *Flavianus* denied it: The people stuck to the Bishop, and so unanswerably disputed down the Monks, that so great a multitude of them were slain, as that they threw their bodies into the River *Orontes*, to save them labour of burying of them. (*Nicep. c.* 27.) But this was not all; another troop of Monks of *Celosyria*, that were of *Flavianus* side, hearing of the tumult, flockt to *Antioch*, and made ano-

another slaughter as great as the former (saith the Historian.) For this the Emperour banished *Flavianus*, whose followers thought his punishment too great after all these murders. *Peter* being dead, the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Egypt* and *Lybia*, fell in pieces among themselves; each having their separate Conventions: The rest of the East also separated from the West, because the West would not communicate with them, unless they would curse *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, *Moggus*, and *Acacius*. And yet (saith *Niceph. l.* 16. *c.* 8.) *Qui Germani Dioscori & Eutychetis sectatores fuere, ad maximam paucitatem redacti sunt. Xenaias* bringeth to *Flavian* the names of *Theodore*, *Theodorite*, *Ibas*, and others, as *Nestorians*, and tells him, if he anathematize not all these, he is a *Nestorian*, whatever he say to the contrary: *Flavian* was unwilling, but his timerous fellow-Bishops perswading him, he wrote his curse against them, and sent it to the Emperour. *Xenaias* then went further, and required him to curse the Council: They prevailed with the *Isaurian* Bishops to consent, and all renounced the refusers as *Nestorians*: And thus the Council having (in name) condemned the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, the *Eutychians* called all *Nestorians* that cursed not the Council, and got many cast out. After *Flavian*, *Severus* got in at *Antioch*: The first day he cursed the Council (though it's said that he swore to the Emperour before that he would not) *Nicep. c.* 29. In *Palestine* there were renewed the like confusions about the condemnation of *Flavian* and *Macedonius*: About *Antioch Severus* Letters frightened many Bishops to curse the Council, and those

that

that held two Natures: Some Bishops revoked their sentence, and said they did it for fear: Some stood out: And the *Isaurian* Bishops, when they repented, condemned *Severus* himself, that drove them to subscribe: And some Bishops fled from their Churches for fear. *Cosmas* and *Severianus* sent a condemnation to *Severus*: The Emperour hearing of it, sent his Procurator to cast them out of their Bishopricks for presuming to condemn their Patriarchs. The Procurator found the people so resolute, that he sent word to the Emperour, that these two Bishops could not be cast out without blood-shed: The Emperour answered; that he would not have a drop of blood shed for the business. *Helias* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, found all the other Churches in such confusion, condemning one another, that he would communicate with none of them but *Euphemius* at *Const. Nicep. c.* 32. And that you may see how people then were moved, a Monk or Abbot *Theodosius* gathering an Assembly, loudly cryed out in the Pulpit, [*If any man equal not the four Councils with the four Evangelists, let him be Anathema.*] This voice of their Captain resolved them all, and they took it as a Law, that the four Councils should be [*sacris libris accensenda*] and wrote to the Emperour *certamen se de eis ad sanguinem usq; subituros.* (This was then the submission to Princes by the adherents to the Councils of the Bishops. And they went about to the Cities to bring them to joyn with them. The Emperour wrote to *Helias* to reform this: He rejecting his Letters, Souldiers were sent to compel them. The Orthodox Monks gathered by the Bishops, *tumultuously cast the Emperours Souldiers out of* the

the Church: (*c.* 34.) After another conflux they anathematized those that adhered to *Severus*. The Emperour provoked, sent *Olympius* with a band of Souldiers to conquer them. He came and cast out *Helias*, and put in *John*: The Monks gather again, and the Souldiers being gone, they cause *John* to engage himself to be against *Severus*, and stand for the Council, though unto blood; which, contrary to his word to *Olympius*, he did. The Emperour deposed *Olympius*, and sent another Captain *Anastasius*, who put the Bishop in prison, and commanded him to despise the Council; consulting with another Bishop, he promised to obey him, if he would but let him out of prison two daies before, that it might not seem a forced act: This being done, the Bishop contrarily to the Congregation in the pulpit, before the Captain cryeth out [*If any assent to Eutyches and Nestorius* (contraries) *and Severus and Soterichus Cæsar, let him be Anathema: If any follow not the Opinions of the four universal Synods, let him be Anathema.*] The Captain thus deluded, fled from the multitude, and was glad to save himself: The Emperour being offended at this, the Bishops write to him that at *Jerusalem*, the fountain of Doctrine, they were not now to learn the Truth, and *they would defend the Traditions, if need be, even to blood.*] *Nicep. c.* 34.

Timothy Bishop of *Constantinople*, took the man-pleasing way, and one while was for the *Calcedon* Council, another while he cursed it. Being to choose an Abbat, the Abbat refused his election, unless he consented to the Council of *Calcedon*. *Timothy* cursed those presently that received not the Council: His Archdeacon hearing him, reproached

reproached him that like *Euripus*, roled every way: The Emperour hearing it, rebuked him, and *Timotay* washt away the charge and presently cursed every one that received the Council. *Niceph. c.* 35. Yet *Rome* though now under another King (*Theodorick* an *Arria* Goth) had a part in the Schism: *Festus* a Roman Senator was sent from *Theodorick* to the Emperour on an Embassie: Which when he had done, he desired that *Constantinople* would keep holy dayes for *Peter* and *Paul* as *Rome* did, and he prevailed: And he secretly assured the Emperour that *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome* would receive the Henoticon (to suspend the consent to the *Calcedon* Council) and would subscribe it. But when the Embassadour came home, the Pope was dead: To make good his word, he got a party to choose *Laurentius* Pope, that would do it: The people (that then had the chief choice) chose *Symmachus* so there were two Popes: And the sedition continued three years *not without* slaughters, rapines and other calamities (*Niceph. c.* 35.) till *Theodorick* an *Arian* more righteous than the Popes, called a synod and confirmed *Symmachus*: But *Laurentius* stirred up the people to sedition and was quite degraded. The Emperour favouring the addition [*Qui Crucifixus est pro nobis*] the people seditiously cut off a Monks head and set it up on a pole inscribing it *an enemy to* the Trinity: The Emperour overcome with their confusion and orthodox rebellions, called an assembly and offered to resign his Crown, desiring them to choose another; which smote them with such remorse, that they desired him to reassume his Crown and promised to forbear

bear sedition: But he dyed shortly after. But I must not transcribe historical Volumes. *Justin* succeeded *Anastasius* in the Empire, and *Justinian* him: These were for the Synod: But *Theodora Justinians* Wife was against it: Some thought by compact, that each part might have a head, which was indeed but one (*Niceph. l.* 17. *c.* 7.) Should I tell you in their reigns how the Ecclesiastical war continued, how Pope *Agathon munus imposuit Menæ Constant. quod antea nunquam factum est, Niceph. c.* 9; How *Menas* and the Pope excommunicated one another, and how *Justinian* used *Vigilius* the Pope, &c. it would be over tedious to tell. I have wrote this much to shew you how far the Patriarchal seats conduced to the Churches peace, and how far the four first Councils of Bishops caused Christian Love and Concord: No such things can be said of the *Arabians*, and *Novatian Phrygians* and others that had Bishops in the villages: Should I but now turn to *Rome* and tell you what was done there, all this Confusion, blood and misery is but a jeast to it: But I have said enough of that in many treatises against Popery; and particularly of the above 40 years Schism when they had 2 or 3 Popes at once; and of the above 50 Popes that *Baronius* and *Genebrard* themselves call Apostatical, put in by whores and poyson, men not to be named, save to keep a reckoning of the times; many damned by Councils as horrid Adulterers, Murderers, Simonists, Hereticks, or Infidels: Nor will I recite how in the many wars between the Popes and Emperours, the Bishops swore, and unswore, and forswore as the upper side compelled them, as *Urspergensis* com-

complaineth. Nor will I ſtand to tell you, how the Pope and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* (to whom adhere thoſe of *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Jeruſalem*) have theſe thouſand years almoſt, divided and diſtracted the Chriſtian world, by ſtriving which ſhould be the greateſt, when Chriſt had ſo fully decided the caſe. But what now if after ſo many hundred years confuſion it ſhould prove, that all this ſtir was in the dark; and that *Neſtorius Eutyches*, and *Dioſcorus* were of the ſame mind except in words: Can the tongue of man then ſufficiently expreſs the Biſhops guilt? A rare French Divine and Philoſopher *David Derodon* hath written a Treatiſe *de ſuppoſito*, copiouſly proving that *Neſtorius* was orthodox, and *Cyril* an heretick, and all the firſt *Epheſin* Council that adhered to him; that *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* taught but the ſame hereſie that *Cyril* did; that the Council of *Calcedon* ignorantly condemned *Neſtorius*, and truly ſtabliſhed his opinion; and cryed up *Cyril* and damned his doctrine: And he citeth abundant paſſages out of *Cyril*, where he expreſly denyeth two natures in Chriſt, (as *Ep.* 2. *ad ſuccęſs. In Chriſto duas naturas unitas aſſerimus: poſt unionem verò ademptâ jam in duas diviſione, unam eſſe credimus naturam filii incarnati*:) And that *Neſtorius* expreſly aſſureth that there are two natures and but one perſon: The citations are numerous and undeniable. But I think that *Cyril*, *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* (who were all of one mind) did mean that the natures were but *one* in oppoſition to *diviſion*, but not in oppoſition to *diſtinction*. And that *Neſtorius* ſaid they were two as *diſtinguiſhed* but not as divided, and all thi-

this blood, ſeparation and confuſion was between men of one mind, for want of skill in the explication of words, and through worldly deſigns. I know ſome will ſay, *were all theſe Councils of Biſhops ſuch fools in compariſon of you?* But can a man deny notorious truth in reverence to Biſhops? If ſo, which part of the Biſhops muſt I believe if they ſay the ſnow is black: The *Arrians*, and *Eutychians* were far the greater number.

And now as the beſt Philoſophers think that experiments *de facto* muſt be premiſed to the Theory, ſo we think this touch of hiſtory muſt be conſidered by them that think Jewiſh High Prieſthood, or National, Patriarchal or Metropolitical ſuperiority is the neceſſary means of the Churches Concord: Let them compare the diſſentions cauſed by little village Biſhops and ſynods for meer Concord, yea or by ſeparating heady people, with theſe which Patriarchall and Metropolitical ſeats have cauſed, and they will appear to be to them but as a ſcuffle at Billinſgate to the French Wars: And yet we have inſtanced but in the beſt times of dominion, in compariſon of which Councils, Prelates and later times have been a meer *hurricane*. In a word, they that think that the miſchiefs of *ſuperiour ſeats* are greater than the benefits, do appeal to *all Church hiſtory*, whether they have not been the true and principal cauſes of the diſtractions of the Chriſtian world, and of the long diviſion of the Eaſt and Weſt, and of many civil and grievous wars.

§ 40. And to the objections they ſay, I. As to Appeals and Government of Inferiors, 1. That the laſt appeals have ever been made to General Councils: And how they went when ever the

Prince did but countenance errour, (as in the daies of *Constantius* and *Valens*, many great Councils that were for the *Arrians*, and in *Theodosius Juniors* time, for the *Eutychians* &c.) is too sad to think on. And is it not far more dangerous for many hundred in a Council to bear down a whole Empire or Kingdom, and raise persecution, and there be no appeal from them, than for a poor Priest to put a man from the Sacrament in his own Parish Church? How many Councils have been against Images in Churches, and how many for them, condemning one anothers acts? What good will appeals do to such, 2. In doctrinal cases the consent of many tends to concord: But in cases of personal practice, are they fit judges to appeal to, that dwell many hundred miles off, and know none of the persons; suppose a poor man in *England* is put from the Communion by a Parish-Priest (yea, perhaps an hundred or many hundred in some parishes) because he findeth some to be utterly ignorant some to be drunkards, fornicators, heretical, &c. If these appeal but to a Diocesan which dwelleth 20. miles from some, 40, or 60, or 100 miles from others, the remedy is worse than the disease: For if the Priest must travel so far, and bring his witnesses and plead the cause with men that never saw the party before, (where neighbourhood giveth a surer knowledge than any such examination of strangers can do, and a strange Chancelor or Diocesan knoweth not which witnesses are most credible) and all this while his Pastoral Charge (perhaps many thousand souls) must be neglected, while the Minister is prosecuting these appealing sinners; will not the evil of this be greater than the benefit? But how much more if

every

every ſinner muſt appeal to a Patriarch many hundred miles off? A ſober mind will be aſhamed to think of the proceſs of ſuch a ſuit. If you ſay that it is not in the caſe of ſuch ſinners as theſe whereof every Pariſh abounds, that you would have appeals, at leaſt not to Patriarchs, ſo far off; I anſwer, 1. Then anſwer your own objection: What remedy ſhall they have if the Biſhop wrong them? 2. What is the caſe than that you ſuppoſe ſuch ſupraordinations of power neceſſary for? *If* you ſay, *If Miniſters themſelves ſhould be excommunicate*, It is anſwered, That none but Biſhops or other ſuperior powers pretend authoritatively as Rectors to excommunicate Paſtors; Therefore this is nothing to them that are againſt all ſuch ſuperiority of Paſtors: Where none ſuch are, none ſuch can excommunicate, or be injurious. And if there muſt be a higher Biſhop to deliver men from the injuries of a lower, who ſhould deliver us from him, who may injure Kingdoms?

Obj. *But it is ſuppoſed that Patriarchs are wiſer and better men than Metropolitans, and thoſe than Biſhops, and thoſe than Prieſts: And that a meer Prieſt is not to be truſted with the power of the Keys.*

Anſ. 1. The power of the Keys of his particular Church is eſſential to his Office; 2. They that will make Prieſts of raw lads and naughty fellows, and then plead that ſuch muſt not be truſted with the Office which they themſelves ordained them to, do condemn themſelves by ſuch allegations, 3. The old Church Government was, for every particular Church, no more numerous than our Pariſhes, to have a Biſhop and Presbyters: And theſe were thought ſufficient to judge who was fit for their own Communion, 4. *Hierom* was but a Prieſt, &c. And *Macedonius*, *Neſtorius*, *Dioſcorus*, *Timothy*

Elurus, Peter Moggus, Gregory Alex. Lucius Al. Joh. Al. Theodosius Al. Eulalius Antioch. Euphronius Ant. Placitus Ant. Stephanus Ant. Leontius Ant. Eudoxius Ant. Euzoius Ant. all Heretisks were all Patriarchs; and to reckon the enormities of the Roman High Priests, is a needless work. Is it to be supposed then, that these were better than Priests? Doth Christ say that it is as hard for a rich man to enter into Heaven as for a Camel to go through a needles eye, and shall we that are Christians say, that it is to be supposed that the rich clergie are better men than the poor? When *Greg. Nazianz.* Saith that such great places use to make Bishops worse than they were before. All history tells us what striving there was for such places? When *Eusebius* refused *Antioch*, two Priests were presently at *Constantines* elbow to beg that place, and he was fain to mention them (though they were not chosen.) What a stir did *Maximus* make at *Constantinople*, *Egypt*, and with the Emperour to have got *Gregories* place at *Constantinople*? And so with others. And is it not a fleshly, proud and wordly mind (which is the work of the Devil) which is the importunate seeker? And must we needs appeal to such? 3. But to come neerer, what need is there of any such appeal or such a Government, if, 1. A Bishop with his Presbyters be over every particular Church (associated for personal Communion in holy doctrine, worship and Conversation?) 2. And if these Churches associate for meer concord and mutual help (and not for Governing Bishops?) 3. And if the Magistrate govern them all as he doth Philosophers, Physicians, &c. For 1. If a Bishop of a particular Church deny one the Sacrament or excommunicate him

him, he doth it juſtly or unjuſtly: If juſtly, the perſon muſt ſubmit: If unjuſtly, he may be received by a neighbour Biſhop who is not bound to reject thoſe whom upon trial he findeth to have been wrongfully excommunicated: All neighbour Churches muſt refuſe thoſe that are by any one excommunicated juſtly; but not all that are wrongfully caſt out. Some ſay that he that doth excommunicate doth caſt a man out of the whole Church, and therefore no one elſe may receive him: But unexplained words muſt not ſerve to confound truth, Souls and Congregations. Every Miniſter is a Miniſter in the Univerſal Church (as every Phyſician and Schoolmaſter is in and to the Kingdom (indefinitely not univerſally) but his *work* and *power* are commenſurate; his *power* being only *to and for his work*. Therefore the Biſhop or Paſtor of one particular Church or Pariſh, is bound to confine his ordinary labour to them, though occaſionally he may help others. And accordingly his power is to uſe the Keys *ordinarily for his own Church only*, as to the *direct effect*: though *extraordinarily* he may uſe it in other Churches when called thereto; and by *conſequence* it may reach further: For few Biſhops will think if another Biſhop come into their Dioceſſes or Pariſhes and excommunicate divers of their flocks, that *they* and *all others* are bound to ſtand to ſuch mens ſentence, and to hold ſuch excommunicate. That which a Paſtor doth in ordinary Excommunicating, is to declare (after-proof) that *This perſon is by his ſin and impenitency made uncapable of Communion with the Church, and therefore to require him to forbear it, and the people to avoid Communion with him; and to pronounce him unpardoned before God,*

till he repent. Now if this be done by one known to be heretical with whom the other Churches have no Communion, those other Churches are not bound to deny that man Communion. Nor yet if he offer himself to their Communion, and they examine the matter, and find him wronged. It is concord in good, and not in evil, that we are bound to by the command of God: Therefore if any man be wrongfully put out of this Church, the next may and should receive him: And what necessity is there then, of going a thousand or an hundred miles to a Pope, or Patriarch, or Diocesan, to right him? And whoever thought that there was need of an Universal Physician, or Schoolmaster, or a General Council of such to receive appeals from Patients and Scholars that are wrongfully turned out of the Hospital or School?

The Caviller will here tell you of disparities in the cases; but the question is, whether the disparities be such as alter the reason of the Conclusion. What man of conscience will be a Physician, Schoolmaster or Pastor, that hath not power to judge whom to receive for his Patient, Scholar, or part of his flock, but must take all that some other man shall send to him, or command him to receive, and give them what others command him to give? An Apothecary may do so, but not a Physician. What if a man had no other scandal, but to say, *I will not take you for my Pastor, nor take my self obliged to answer you, speak with you, give you any account of my self, nor be questioned by you on any accusation,* must I be constrained to suppose this man to be one of my flock in despite of his own denyal? If the freedom of consent be not mutual, but I must be constrained to take those

for

for my charge as Christians, that renounce such a relation, or will not own it; a Pastor is not a free man, nor hath any power of the Church-Keys, but is as an irrational Slave, a Cryer, or Executioner, that must but execute another mans commands.

2. But if there be need of appeals, and our own actions must not be free, why will not the Synods of Neighbour-Pastors met only for *Counsel* and *Concord* (and not to command the Pastors) suffice for such persons to appeal to? And what if I turn a servant out of my house, or from his meat, and he may take another Master when he will, must there be an universal Judge of all family cases, that shall force me to keep my servant against my will? Is it not enough that I know why I am unwilling to keep him, who am no way more bound to him than to others, but by my own consent? What if (as *Nazianzen* left *Sasimis*, *Constantinople*, and *Nazianzum* at last) I should give up my whole Charge and Bishoprick, and say, I will be a Pastor to none of them any more, (upon sufficient reasons, as *Latimer* did:) Is it not better for the people to take another, than to accuse me at *Rome*, or *Canterbury*, as wronging them?

3. But if all this serve not (neither the sufficiency of Pastors for one single Parish, nor yet the Counsel of all the Neighbour-Pastors or Bishops,) what is there more to be done, which the authority of *Princes and Magistrates* may not do? All Christians confess (almost) that no Bishops or Pastors, as such, have from Christ any forcing power over the flocks; that belongeth to the Magistrates only; And *they* are to keep peace, and force us to our certain duty. And I would ask the contrary-minded, whether if Bishops, Patriarchs and Coun-

cils had no forcing power, but only to excommunicate by the application of Gods word, and leaving all men to their consciences, would this sort of Government serve their turn, and keep out Heresies, or maintain order and unity? They say no, themselves: And next, whether it be not certain, and confessed, that the Pastors have no other power, but the Magistrates only?

Obj. *But shall all men gather Churches, and teach Heresie, and do what they will?*

Answ. 1. The power of Popes, Patriarchs or Councils, did not prevent it, when there were all the Heresies that fill *Epiphanius* Volumns: And when the far greatest part of the Clergy was long *Arrian*: And when the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* so greatly multiplied after the condemnation of the Councils: And when the *Novatians* lived so many years in reputation: and when the *Donatists* nor they were not diminished by Prelates or Councils Censures, till the sword dispersed them. And cannot the Sword be drawn without such as have no power of it?

3. And as to the last (and greatest) reason, that the Apostles have successors who must orderly exercise their Government; it is answered 1. The common doctrine of the Church was, that all Bishops are their Successors so far as they have succession; and every Church of one Altar had a Bishop in the daies of *Ignatius*, and long after. 2. The Council of *Carthage* said, None of us calleth himself Bishop of Bishops. 3. But if any be set as the Bishop of many Bishops and Churches, so be it they use no violence, but govern volunteers as all the old Bishops did, and forbid them nothing commanded of God, nor command them any thing

thing which God forbiddeth, and deſtroy not the order, doctrine, worſhip or diſcipline of the leſſer particular Churches, we have before ſaid, that we ſhall ſubmit to ſuch.

§ 41. IV. As to the queſtion, whether the Government ſetled by Chriſt in National Churches be (as to the Clergy from all parts, Monarchical) Ariſtocratical or Democratical, and who muſt have the *ſummam poteſtatem*? The diſagreement of the perſons that we have herein to do with, puts us into utter deſpair of any ſolution. And what good will it do us to believe that ſome muſt be obeyed, if we cannot be certain who it is.

§ 42. V. And to the queſtion, *Whether the King be the formal, or only the accidental Church-head?* We find no more agreement. 1. Some think that the King, as *Melchizedek*, is a mixt perſon, ſecular and Clergy, and hath both Offices to uſe and communicate, as they ſay, the Princes before *Aaron* had. 2. Others ſay, that this is not ſo, but that the Clergy-juriſdiction, diſtinct from the Prieſtly common power, is a branch of the Chriſtian Magiſtrates power, and ſo derived from the King. 3. Others ſay that the Church, *formally*, is diſtinct from the Civil State, though not alwaies *materially*: And that the King as King, is but an Accidental Civil Head, as he is over Phyſicians and Schoolmaſters, being neither himſelf; and that the National Church muſt have a *formal Clergy-head*, (*Perſonal* or *Collective*) which ſhall *in ſuo genere*, be the higheſt, though under the Magiſttates Civil Government, as Phyſicians are. 4. The Papiſts ſay, that all National Churches are under the Pope as Univerſal Paſtor, who may alter them as he ſeeth cauſe. 5. Some moderate men ſay, that only Diocęſan (and Metropolitical) Churches are *jure Divino*,

vino, and that they are called *National*, only improperly from one King, or *concording* association as *ab accidente*, and not properly from any *formal Clergy-head*.

§ 43. VI. Lastly, which is the formal Head of the Church of *England*, and so what that Church is, we are left as much uncertain. 1. If it be only a Civil Head that denominateth it *One*, then it is but a Christian Kingdom, which we never questioned. And Dr. *Rich. Cosins*, in his Tables of the English Church-Policy, saith [*That the King hath Administrationem supremam magisque absolutam, quæ dicitur Primatus Regius.* And *Tho. Crompton* in his dedication of it to K. *James*, saith [*Ecclesiastica Jurisdictio plane Regia est, Coronæ & dignitatis vestræ Regiæ prima, præcipua, indivisibilis pars: Ecclesiasticæ leges Regiæ sunt, neque alibi oriuntur, aut aliunde sustentantur, aut fulciuntur: penes Ecclesiasticos judices per Archiepiscopos & Episcopos, derivata a Rege potestate, jurisdictio Ecclesiastica consistit:* And yet our Kings and Church explaining the Oath of Allegiance, declare that the King pretendeth not to the Priesthood, or power to administer the Word and Sacraments; but, as *Crompton* adds from *Constantine, is extra Ecclesiam constitutus a Deo Episcopus; alii intra Ecclesiam Episcopi.* This is plain: If they hold to this, and claim no power in the English-Policy, but as the Kings Officers, in that part which belongeth to Christian Magistrates, who will oppose them? But this reacheth not to the Keys, Preaching or Sacraments. 2. Some say that the King is partly a Clergy-man, as *Melchizedek*, and so that he is the formal Head, and might perform the Priestly Office if he would: But this our Kings have themselves renounced. 3. Some say that

that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is the formal Head; but that cannot be, becauſe he is no Governour over the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, or his Province. 4. Moſt ſay that the *Convocation* is the formal Church-Head, which makes it One Political Church. But 1. If ſo, then why ſaith the Canon that the Convocation [*is the true Church of England by Repreſentation*] and thoſe excommunicate that deny it? We enquire after the Church-Head or Governour: And that which is but the Church it ſelf by repreſentation, is not its *Head*, unleſs the Head and Body be the ſame, and the Church govern it ſelf, and ſo it be Democratical: The governed and Governours, ſure, are not the ſame. 2. And the *Supream Power* is ſuppoſed, by thoſe that take Epiſcopacy for a diſtinct Order, to be in the *Supream Order* only: But the far greater part of the Convocation are not of the *Supream Order*: Nay, thus the Presbyters ſhould be partly the chief Governours of the Biſhops while they make Canons for them. 3. When we did but motion that according to Arch-Biſhop *Uſhers* form of the Primitive Epiſcopacy, Presbyters might joyn with the Biſhops in proper executive Church-government inſtead of Lay-Chancellors, and ſuch like, they decryed it as *Presbytery*, and call us *Presbyterians* ever ſince: And if they ſay that the Preſbyters have ſo great a part in the Supream Government it ſelf, which obligeth all the Nation, how much more would they be themſelves *Preſbyterians*, which they ſo abhor?

§ 44. Having oft ſaid that we deſire *Chriſtian Kingdoms* as the great bleſſing of the world, we mean not either that 1. All in a Kingdom ſhould be forced to be baptized, or profeſs themſelves Chri-

Christians, whether they are so or not: For lying will not save men, nor please God; and even the Papists are against this: 2. Nor that all should be supposed to be Christians that are in the Kingdom. But that the Kings be Christians, and the Laws countenance Christianity, and the most or ruling part of the Kingdom be Christians, and all just endeavours used to make all the rest so: The Ancient Churches continued them Catechumens till they were fit for Baptism; and though they were for Infant-Baptism, they *compelled* none to be baptized in Infancy, or at Age, but left it to free choice. They baptized but twice a year ordinarily. They kept many offenders many years from communion. And if *Crabs Roman Council sub Silvest.* be true, they at *Rome admitted not penitents till fourty years* (understand it as you see cause:) The true Elibertine Canons kept many out so many years, and many till death, and many absolutely, as shewed that they were far from taking all the Nation into the Church. And the Christian Emperours compelled none. It was long before the greatest part of the Empire were Christians. In the daies of *Valens*, the Bishops were some of them banished into places that had few Christians, if any. In *France* it self, even in St. *Martin*'s daies, the Christians of his flock were not the most, but he wrought miracles to convince the Heathens that raged against Christianity, where he dwelt, &c.

§ 1. There are two appendent Controversies handled by some that write for National Churches; which need but a brief solution: The first is, whether it be not an Independent Errour to expect *real holiness in Church-members, as necessary in the judg-*

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ment of charity? The second, *Whether it be not such an Errour to require the bond of a Covenant beside the Baptismal Covenant?*

§ 2. To the first we say, that so much is written on this point by one of us in a Treatise called *Disputations of Right to Sacraments*, &c. that we think meet to say no more: The Opponents now confess that it must be *saving Faith and Consent to the Baptismal Covenant* that must be professed: And Papists and Protestants agree with all the Ancient Church, that Baptism putteth the true Consenter into a state of certain pardon and title to life: And God maketh not known lying, a condition of Church-communion: *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.* It is true, that God hath not made Ministers Arbitrary Judges of mens secret thoughts, but hath limited them in judging to take *their tongues* that *profess Faith and Consent* to be the *Indices* of their minds: But sure the power of the Keys containeth a power of judging according to Christ's Law, who is to be taken into the Church by Baptism, and who not: If only the seeker be made Judge, it will be a new way of Church-Government, and a bad. And then the question is, 1. Whether he that accepts ones profession seemingly serious, of *Faith* and *Consent*, and that *de præsente*, is not bound to hope in charity that such a one doth not lie or dissemble? 2. Whether a baptized person, as such, have no right to our special love which we owe to those that we hope are true Believers, and sanctified; but only to our common love and kindness, which belongeth to those also that are the heirs of Hell? Some friends that are gone from extream to extream, and in remembrance of their ancient Schisms, can look

look but one way with impartial ſenſe, and that have made their repentance the paſſage to a greater errour and ſin, ſhould better bethink them them what they do. They did well to ſtand ſtill in the way of Schiſm, when they ſaw here a leg, and there a hand, and there an arm in their way; and who but a mad-man indeed would not: But if they have impartially read Church-hiſtory, and the works of ſuch Fathers as give us hiſtorical notices, and ever ſince *Conſtantine* made a Biſhoprick a bait to a proud and worldly mind; even ſuch as *Nazianzen*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Iſidore Peluſiota*, *Hilary Pictav.* and the over-orthodox diſputations of *Cyril*, and the Epiſtles of *Theodoret* rejoycing at his death, and abundance of ſuch like; had they ſeen in the way of Church-pride and tyranny, not here a leg, and there an arm, but here a hundred carkaſſes, and there a thouſand; here two thouſand godly faithful Preachers ſilenced, and many thouſand dry Vines planted in their rooms, and there whole Kingdoms interdicted, and their Churches ſhut up; here Churches and Kingdoms turned into confuſions about a *word*, or about the *intereſt of Prelates*, ſtriving which ſhould be the *Chief*, and have their will and rule the reſt; and there hundred thouſands murdered in the name of Chriſt, for obeying him, and bloody wars managed by the Clergy againſt Chriſtian Emperours, and Kings ſtabbed one after another; and moſt of the Chriſtian world, *Roman*, *Greek*, *Moſcovites*, *Armenians*, *Abaſſines*, degenerated into doleful ignorance and dead formality under the Government of great High-Prieſts, and millions of the vulgar bred up in ignorance and ſenſleſneſs of ſpiritual and eternal things; this ſhould ſtop them, (at leaſt from ſerving

ving the master of such designs) as much as a leg, or an arm in the way.

3. At least we would intreat them to hate that mistake, which will pretend to do all this for charity, unity and the Churches good; and to believe that it is no sign of charity, 1. To believe that charity should not be exercised in judging that men professing saving faith do speak the truth, and have the faith that they profess: 2. Nor to teach all Christs Church, that a baptized Church member *as such* is to be lookt on but as a man in a state of damnation; and no man is bound to love him as a true Christian with a special love: 3. And that to prove that a man is not to be taken for a true Christian, but to be admitted into Church Communion as one that shall have a greater damnation than heathens, without a further renovation, is a great act of Charity, Contrary to the uncharitable narrowness of others. These are too great recesses from Anabaptistry, but not from real Schism.

§ 3. As for those that will not take the *intelligent serious profession of true Faith, and Covenant-Consent* for a credible sign of the sincerity of the Professor, till they can sufficiently disprove it, but will be the arbitrary Judges of mens hearts, either as pretended heart-searchers, or by self-devised, or uncertain signs, not taking up with this Profession, we are no Patrons of such mens presumption and uncharitableness.

§ 4. There are various degrees of Credibility in mens professions; some give us so much as is next to certainty; some but small hopes: But yet till we can disprove them, we are to take their professions as credible in some degree. And if they prove false, it is they that will have the loss.

§ 5.

§ 5. II. The second case about Church Covenants deserveth no longer a discussion. He that will put any article unnecessary into any such Covenant, sinfully corrupteth the order of the Church: As if he would bind the people to be Church Governours, or never to depart from that particular Church but by the consent of the Pastor, or the flock, or any such like: And he mistaketh that will make a more *explicite* contract to be more necessary than it is. But it seemeth strange to us that any understanding Christian should deny, that *consent* is absolutely necessary to the being of an adult member both of the universal, and each particular Church respectively. What *bindeth* a man to consent is another question, but if he be any member of the Church till he *profess consent*, we know not what a Christian or Church member is. An *explicite covenant* is necessary to our relation to the *Universal Church* for it must be *solemnized sacramentally*: That we express it by *writings or words* is not of necessity to our membership of a particular Church: But *consent* is necessary; And *mutual consent expressed* satisfactorily, is a contract or Covenant: If the Pastor say all that consent, hold up your hand, or stand up, or stay here while the rest depart, &c. these are significations of consent: And if it be notified that all that appear at the solemn Assemblies, and attend the Pastors Ministry, shall be taken for Consenters, their presence and attendance is a profession of Consent indeed, and so a covenanting. But though the most explicit be not necessary *ad esse*, no man can give a reason why it should not be best *ad bene esse*, seeing the most intelligent and plain dealing in the great things of God, are most suitable to the work, and fittest

fitteſt to attain the end: why ſhould we not deal openly and above board?

§ 6. It is certain that to be a Chriſtian maketh no man a member of any mans particular flock or charge. And it is certain that none can be ſuch without conſent. And it is certain that the Paſtor is not to take every Atheiſt, Jew, Infidel, Papiſt, Heretick, &c. in his Pariſh for a member of the Univerſal, or of that particular Church. Therefore he muſt know whom to take for ſuch. And it is certain that the conſent muſt be mutual, ſo far is the Paſtor from being a ſlave, and bound to every mans deſires, that he is entruſted with the Church Keys himſelf.

§ 7. A worthy perſon on this ſubject maketh theſe ſix things ſufficient to ſuch Church relation: 1. That they be baptized Chriſtians; 2. Neighbours bound to mutual love; 3. And apt to Neighbourly duty; 4. That providence make us ſuch Neighbours; 5. Scripture Churches took their name from cohabitation: 6. The command of authority, that ſo it ſhall be. *Freſh ſuit. pag.* 260.

Anſ. By making theſe ſix the ſufficient proof of Pariſh Churches, our friend unhappily would conſequently unchurch them all: For if this were all, certainly they were none at all. For all theſe (which he maketh more than they are) are but the *diſpoſitio materiæ*, antecedent to any reception of the form, 1. For all that he inferreth or can infer from them all is *obligation to conſent* and to *other duties after conſent*. But *obligation* maketh not the relation of a member: All that are *obliged* to be Chriſtians are not Chriſtians: All that are obliged to be Paſtors are not Paſtors: Nor all that are obliged to conſent firſt and to do the duty of Paſtors

after: Even as all that are obliged to consent to be subjects, Husbands, Wives, Masters, Servants, Tutors, Scholars, &c. are not such: If meer *obligation* serve to one relation, why not to others? 2. Else a man might be a true Pastor unchosen, unordained and against his will. For he may by his qualifications be obliged to be ordained and to become a Pastor. 3. And so the people may be the flock of one that was obliged to be their Pastor, when another is set over them and in possession, because it was the first that was obliged, and they to choose him: And so utter Confusion will come in: And if a man can prove that another mans wife and servant was obliged to be his, he may take them as his indeed. 3. By this rule all the Papists, Seekers, Quakers, &c. that renounce our Churches, should yet be members of them, because they live in the Parish, and are commanded to be members: Which *who* believeth? 4. A member of a Church hath right to Communion and Ministerial vigilancie and help: But so hath not every baptized person that is commanded to be a member, and obeyeth not that command. If a man say to a Pastor, I will be none of your flock, or Church, but yet I require you to do the office of a Pastor to me, though I renounce your relation to me, and the people to use me as a member of the flock, because I am commanded to be a member, this were a strange claim. 5. If this did hold, then no man that liveth in the Parish could be a proper separatist, so as to break off himself from that Church, nor become a member of another, unless he apostatized from Christ: For he would be still under the Magistrates Command and obligation: But the consequent is absud: Why do the

the ſame men ſpeak ſo much againſt ſchiſmatical rending mens ſelves from the true Churches, and gathering other Churches, if there be no ſuch thing? The Laws change not, which oblige them. 6. They that are againſt ſchiſm and ſingularity, ſhould be againſt this opinion, becauſe (as it is utterly abſurd, ſo) it is notoriouſly contrary to the Judgment of all the Chriſtian world in all ages to this day, as acquaintance with Church hiſtory may fully inform them. They have ever taken mutual conſent between the Paſtors and the flock to be neceſſary to the being of a particular Church; and that whatever they were obliged to, they were not actually related to each other as Paſtor and flock till they conſented: And therefore have noted ſchiſmatical Churches in the ſame Cities that have been no parts of the Church which they diſowned.

§ 8. But it is objected, that this unchurcheth our Pariſh-Churches, and all the Churches in the world.

Anſ. Not one: But the contrary would. Our Pariſh Churches are aſſociated by mutual conſent: The Paſtor expreſſeth his conſent openly at his inſtitution, induction and officiating: The Flocks ſhew their conſent by actual ſubmitting to his Miniſterial Office: They hear him, and communicate ordinarily with him, and ſeek Miniſterial help from him; thongh all that are in the Pariſh do not ſo, thoſe do it that are indeed his flock, or Church. They do not perhaps by *word* or *writing* covenant to ſubmit to him as their Paſtor, but they do it by actual ſignification of conſent to the relation. And the Biſhops in Conſecration enter into a Covenant to watch over the flock (as do the Prieſts) and the Prieſts promiſe (if not ſwear, in

England) to obey them: This is a Covenant.

§ 9. It is objected that this is a disparagement to Baptism, which is the only Church-making Covenant.

Ans. Baptism only, as such, maketh us members of the universal Church; but is not enough to make us of any Ministers special flock: I am not a member of the Church of *York*, *Norwich*, *Bristol*, &c. because I am baptized: Nor am I a member of the Parish-Church now where I was baptized. Consent to be a Christian is one thing, and consent to be a member of this particular Church, and to take this man more than all the rest about us, for the Guide of my soul, is another.

§ 10. And if a man would say, I will be a member of this Parish-Church, and you shall perform so much of your Office as I desire, and no more; I will hear and receive the Sacrament but when I please, and I will not admit you to catechize or instruct any of my family, nor visit the sick, nor will I be responsible to you for any thing that I hold, or say, or do; nor have any thing to do with you, but in the Church; is a Minister bound to do his office to men, or take them for his special flock on these terms? The ancient Churches had abundance of strict Canons; if the people should have chosen a Bishop, and said, We will obey none of these Canons, nor you, but you shall be our Bishop on our terms, was he bound to have consented, and to have been such a Bishop? This is really the case of no small part of *England*, though they say it not openly by words.

§ 11. It is objected, *that as Apostles, so ordained Ministers have their authority before the consent of the people and receive it not from them.*

Ans.

Anſ. 1. Who ever queſtioneth it, that is conſiderate, as to an indefinite charge in the Church univerſal? But what's that to the queſtion? Are all the Miniſters in the world bound to be the Paſtors of this Pariſh or Dioceſs? Our queſtion is what conſtituteth the relations between a Paſtor and his Particular flock? Doth not the ordainer here ſay, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God, &c. when thou art thereto lawfully called?* Becauſe a man is a Licenſed Phyſician without me, doth it follow that he is my Phyſician without my conſent? 2. Are all thoſe Church-members that Miniſters are authorized to preach to? Then all the Heathen-world are Church-members. 3. They receive not authority from the people; but their conſent is neceſſary to make themſelves capable receivers of the relation and right of Church-members. God, and not the Wife, giveth the Husband the ſuperiority; but he is no ſuch Husband to any that conſenteth not.

§ 12. God hath laid mens rights and benefits on their wills, ſo that no man can have them againſt his will. It is a great priviledge to have right to communion with a particular Church, and to this or that faithful Paſtors overſight: And its new Doctrine to ſay, that unwilling perſons have this right, becauſe they are willing of ſomething elſe, *viz.* to be members of the Church univerſal.

§ 13. We conclude therefore that both extreams here are falſe; 1. That men can be adult members of a particular Church that conſent not, or taken for ſuch that no way ſignifie their conſent, and that it is not uſeful *ad bene eſſe*, that this

consent be intelligent and expreſs, and that the Offices conſented to be truly underſtood. 2. That a written, or verbal covenant is of abſolute neceſſity; or that men ſhould tie themſelves to any thing doubtful, or unneceſſary, but only to the *relation* and *duties* of members (as of the univerſal ſo) of that particular Church. Both theſe extreams we do renounce. Mr. *Zachary Cawdry* a Conformiſt, hath ſhewed in a particular Treatiſe for Church-covenanting, how far he is from the mind of thoſe Objectors; for he would have the people engaged by covenant to their Biſhops and Prieſts.

§ 14. To conclude, though we renounce fanatick Enthuſiaſts, yet ſerious conſideration maketh ſome of us think, that too little notice is taken of the HOLY GHOST ſetting Paſtors over the flocks, which the Scripture mentioneth: And though none on pretence of the Spirit muſt reject order or ordination, nor make themſelves the ſole Judges of their own ſufficiency; yet 1. The due qualification of men with wiſdom, faith, love, and heavenly zeal, and ability, is the moſt excellent part of our Calling to the Miniſtry. 2. *Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*; without neceſſary fitneſs no man is a true Paſtor having not *diſpoſitionem receptivam*: And without eminent fitneſs, few are eminently ſerviceable. 3. Experience aſſureth us, that though the Office hath ſupernumeraries, yet of worthy men God never yet raiſed up ſupernumeraries, but the ſcarcity is lamentably great. 4. All therefore that are duly qualified, and have opportunity, ſhould be choſen, ordained, accepted, and accept the Call, if not offer themſelves, in caſe

caſe they cannot otherwiſe enter. 5. The Ordainer doth but miniſterially inveſt him with the power, whom the Spirit of God hath qualified for it, by the inward Call. 6. In caſe the Ordainers by envy, or malignity, or faction, refuſe ſuch, where there is true *Neceſſity*, and *Opportunity*, we conceive that mutual conſent of the people and themſelves, may ſuffice to the orderly admittance into the Office, much more if the Magiſtrate alſo conſent: Of which ſee *Voetius de deſparata Cauſa Papatus*, *and a Diſpute of Ordination*, by *R. B.*

Three Venerable Monitors TO NONCONFORMISTS.

I. *An Epistle of an African Council,* (*in* Cyprian 68. p. 200.) *to* Fælix *a Presbyter, and the Laity at* Lægio *and* Asturica: *And to* Lælius *the Deacon, and the Laity at* Emerita, *concerning their Bishops* Basilides *and* Martial *who were Libellaticks* *.

* When persecution was hot, some that would not offer Incense at Idols Altars, nor renounce Christ, yet to save their lives did, through fear, in secret, hire another to subscribe their names to a sinful profession; and these were called *Libellatici*; and it troubled the Churches whether, and when they should be received to communion upon their repentance.

WHen we were met together, most beloved Brethren, we read your Letters, which for (or *in*) the integrity of your faith, and the fear of God you wrote to us by our Bishops *Felix* and *Sabinus*, signifying that *Basilides* and *Martial* being blotted (or *defiled*) with *Libels* of Idolatry, and guilty of heinous crimes, ought not to exercise the Office of Bishops, and administer the Priesthood of God: And you desired us to write back to you hereof, and that your necessary sollicitude might be

be eaſed either by the comfort or the help of our judgment or ſentence. But to this your deſire, not ſo much *our Counſels* as *Gods Precepts* give an anſwer, in (or *by*) which it is long ago (or already) by the heavenly voice commanded, and By the Law of God preſcribed, *who*, and *what* ſort of men muſt ſerve at the Altar, and celebrate the Divine Sacrifices. For in *Exodus* God ſpeaketh to *Moſes*, and warneth him, ſaying, Let the Prieſts who draw neer to the Lord God be ſanctified, leſt God forſake them; and when they come neer to miniſter at the Altar of the Holy, let them not bring themſelves into ſin, leſt they die. And in *Leviticus* God commandeth and ſaith, Let not the man that hath a blemiſh or vice *draw* neer to offer gifts to God. 2. Which things being already ſpoken and manifeſt to us, it is neceſſary that our obedience attend to God's commands: Neither may mans indulgence accept the perſon, or grant any thing to any one in ſuch things where God's preſcription, intercedeth and giveth a Law. For we muſt not forget what God by the Propet *Eſaias* ſaith to the Jews, reproving them, and angry with them, that contemning the commands of God, they followed the doctrines of men. *This people*, ſaith he, *honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far ſeparated from me; and in vain do they worſhip me, teaching the commands and doctrines of men:* which the Lord alſo in the Goſpel repeateth and ſaith, *Ye reject the command of God, that you may eſtabliſh your own tradition.* Having theſe things before our eyes, and carefully and religiouſly conſidering them, in the Ordinations of Prieſts, we ought to chuſe no Biſhops but men unſpotted and entire, who holily and worthily offering the Sacri-

fices

fices to God, may be heard in the prayers which they make for the safety of the people of God; seeing it is written, that *God* heareth not a sinner, but if any man worship God, and do his will, him he heareth. 3. For which reason with full diligence, and sincere tryal, those men must be chosen to the Priesthood, whom it is manifest God doth hear. And let not the Lay people flatter themselves, as if they could be free from the Contagion of the crime, when they communicate with a sinful Priest, and give their consent to the unjust and unlawful Episcopacy of their Governour, seeing by the Prophet *Hosea* God's censure threatneth, and saith, *Their Sacrifices are as the bread of sorrow; all that eat of it shall be defiled*: Teaching and shewing that all they do sin who are defiled by the sacrifice of a prophane and unjust Priest; which we find also manifested in *Numbers*, where *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* challenged to themselves against *Aaron* the license of sacrificing. The Lord there by *Moses* commandeth that the people be separated from them, lest being joyning to the offenders, they be guilty of their crimes. Be separated, saith he, from the Tents of those obdurate men, and touch nothing which is theirs, lest ye perish with them in their sins. 4. Wherefore the Lay-people, obeying the Lords commands, and fearing God, must separate themselves (*a peccatore præposito*) from a sinful Prelate (or Pastor) and must not mix themselves at the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest; because *they chiefly have the power* either *to chuse Priests that are worthy, or to refuse those that are unworthy*: Which very thing, we see, descendeth from Divine Authority, that the Priest, the Lay-people being present, be chosen under the Eyes of

All,

All, and by the publick judgment and testimony be approved worthy and meet: As in *Numbers* the Lord commanded *Moses* saying, *Take Aaron thy Brother, and Eleazer his Son, and set them before all the Congregation on the Mount, and take off Aarons stole, and put it on Eleazer his Son, and let Aaron die there.* God commandeth that the Priest be made before all the Congregation; that is, he instructeth us, and sheweth that the Priestly Ordinations should not be done, but under the conscience of the assisting people, that the Lay-people being present, either the crimes of bad men may be detected, or the deserts of good men predicated; that so that Ordination may be just and legitimate, which hath been examined by the judgment and suffrage of *All.* 5. Which thing is after observed according to the Divine Magisteries in the Acts of the Apostles, when *Peter* spake to the Lay-people about Ordaining a Bishop in the place of *Judas*, *Peter*, saith the Text, stood up in the midst of the Disciples, for the multitude was together in one. And it was not only in the Ordinations of Bishops and Priests, but of Deacons also, that we note the Apostles to have observed this. Of which also in their Acts it is written, and the twelve, saith the Text, called together the whole Laity of the Disciples, and said to them. And the whole business is managed thus diligently and cautelously, the whole Laity being convocate, lest any unworthy person should creep into the Ministry of the Altar, or the place of Priesthood. For God himself manifesteth by the Prophet *Osee*, saying, *They have made themselves a King, but not by me*; that unworthy men are sometimes ordained by mans presumption, and that these things are displeasing

pleasing to God, which come not of a legitimate and just Ordination. 6. For which cause it is diligently to be observed and held as of Divine Tradition, and Apostolical Observation, which is held also with us, and in a manner (or almost) through all the Provinces, that to the right celebrating of Ordinations, all the next Bishops of the Province *come together to the Lay-people to whom the Bishop (præpositus)* is *ordained*, and that a Bishop be made, the Lay-people being present, who most fully know every mans life, and discern every mans acting by his conversation; which we see done also with your selves in the Ordination of our Colleague *Sabinus*, that by the *suffrage* of the whole fraternity, and by the judgment of the Bishops, who at the present met, and who wrote Letters of it to you, the Episcopacy should be delivered to him, and hands should be laid on him instead of *Basilides*. Nor can it rescind the Ordination which was rightly perfected, that *Basilides*, after his crimes detected, and his conscience laid bare by his own confession, going to *Rome*, deceived our Colleague *Stephen*, who lived far off, and was ignorant of the matter of fact, and of the silenced truth, that he might compass to be unjustly replaced in his Bishoprick, from which he had been justly deposed. 7. The effect of this is, that the offences of *Basilides* are not so much abolished, as cumulate, that to his former sins, the crime of deceit and circumvention is added. For he is not so much to be blamed, that was negligently deceived, as he to be execrated that fraudulently deceived him. But if *Basilides* can deceive men, he cannot deceive God. For it is written, *God is not mocked.* Nor will fallacy profit *Martial* to keep him

him who is involved in great offences, from a rightful losing of his Bishoprick. Seeing the Apostle warneth us, and saith, A Bishop must be without crime as the Steward of God: Wherefore, seeing (as you wrote, beloved brethren, and as *Fælix* and *Sabinus* our Colleagues affevere, and as another *Fælix* of *Cæsar Augusta*, an honourer of the Faith, and a defender of the Truth, signifieth by his Letters) *Basilides* and *Martial* are contaminated by a wicked Libel of Idolatry. And *Basilides*, besides the blot of this Libel, when he lay sick blasphemed God, and confessed that he blasphemed, and because of the wound of his conscience voluntarily deposing his Episcopacy, turned himself to a repentence, begging pardon of God, and being satisfied, if he might but communicate as a Lay-man. And *Martial*, besides the filthy and dirty feasts of the Gentiles, and the oft frequenting of their Colledges, and the deposing his Sons in the same Colledge after the manner of the exterior Nations, in prophane Sepulchres, and burying them with aliens, did also by publick acts with the Ducenary Procurator, testifie that he obeyed Idolatry: And seeing there are many other and great offences in which *Basilides* and *Martial* are held guilty; in vain do such men endeavour to usurp to themselves the Office of Bishops, when it is manifest that such kind of men may neither be Guides of the Church of Christ, nor ought to offer Sacrifices to God: Especially when *Cornelius* also our Colleague, a pacifick and just Priest, and honoured by God's vouchsafement with Martyrdom, did with us, and all the Bishops settled in the whole world, decree, that such men be not admitted to Repentance, but that they be prohibited

hibited from Clergy Ordination, and Prieſtly honour. 8. And let not this move you, moſt beloved Brethren, if with ſome in the laſt times, their ſlippery Faith do nod, and their irreligious fear of God do ſhake, or pacifick Concord perſevere not: It was foretold that theſe things would be towards the end of the world; and by the joynt-witneſs of the Apoſtles it was foretold, that the world declining, and Antichriſt drawing near, all good things would fail (or decay) and evil and adverſe things increaſe (or proſper.) And yet, though it be in the laſt times, neither is Evangelical vigor ſo fallen in the Church of God, or doth the ſtrength of Chriſtian Virtue or Faith ſo languiſh, but that there remaineth a *portion* of *Prieſts*, which yields not to theſe ruines of things, and ſhipwrack of Faith, but as ſtrong and ſtable do with obſervation of fear maintain the honour of the Divine Majeſty, and the Prieſtly dignity. We remember and hold, that when the reſt did yield and fall, *Mathatias* did valiantly defend the Law of God: And that when the Jews failed and departed from Divine Religion, *Elias* ſtood and ſtrove ſublimely: That *Daniel*, neither deterred by the ſolitude of a ſtrange Country, nor by the infeſtation of daily perſecution, did frequently and valiantly give glorious teſtimonies (or Martyrdoms) and that the three young men, neither broken with years, nor threats, did faithfully ſtand out againſt the *Babylonian* fires, and even in their captivity conquered the conquering King. 9. The number (or party) of prevaricators or trayors that now *riſe up in the Church againſt the Church*, and have begun to ſpoil both Faith and Verity, ſhall ſee it; that yet with the moſt there remain-

eth

eth a ſincere mind, and entire Religion, a ſoul devoted to none but their Lord and God; and that other mens perfidiouſneſs doth not depreſs the Chriſtian Faith to ruine, but doth more excite it, and exalt it unto glory. Even as the bleſſed Apoſtle *Paul* exhorteth and ſaith, *What if ſome of them have fallen from Faith? ſhall their unbelief make void the faith of God? God is true, and every man a lyar:* And if *every man be a lyar, and God only be true*, what elſe ſhould we, Gods ſevants, do, and ſpecially his Prieſts, but relinquiſh the errours and lies of men, and keeping the Lords commands, remain in the truth of God? 10. Therefore, moſt beloved brethren, though there have been ſome of our Colleagues, who think that the Divine Diſcipline ſhould be neglected, and do raſhly communicate with *Baſilides* and *Martial*, that ought not to trouble our Faith, ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt in the *Pſalms* doth threaten ſuch, ſaying, *Thou hatedſt Diſcipline, and haſt caſt my words behind thee:* If thou ſaweſt a Thief, thou concurredſt with him, and didſt place thy portion with Adulterers. It ſheweth that they are made Conſorts and partakers of other mens ſins, who have been coupled with the ſinners. And *Paul* the Apoſtle writeth the ſame thing, and ſaith [*Whiſperers, detractors, haters of God, injurious, proud, boaſters of themſelves, inventers of evil things; who when they knew the judgment of God, they underſtood not that they that do ſuch things are worthy of death*; not only they that do them, but they that conſent to them that do them. He ſaith, that *They that do ſuch things are worthy of death.* He manifeſteth and averreth that not only they are worthy of death, and come to punniſhment who do the evils, but they

they also who consent to them that do such things; who while by unlawful communication they are mingled with bad men, and sinners, and impenitent persons, they are polluted by the contact of the guilty; and while they are joyned in the fault, they are not separated in the punishment. Wherefore, most beloved brethren, we both praise and approve the religious care of our integrity and faith; and as far as we are able by our Letters, exhort you, that you do not by sacrilegious communion mingle your selves with prophane and blotted Priests (or Bishops,) but in religious fear do keep entire and sincere the firmness of your Faith. I wish, most dear Brethren, your continual welfare.

II. *A Letter of the famously Learned and Holy* Robert Grosthead, *Bishop of* Lincoln, *to Pope* Innocent *the fourth, and his Cardinals, containing the reasons of his Nonconformity to their Commands; Translated out of* Matth. Paris, *An.* 1253. *pag.* 871, 872.

SAith *M. Paris*, *In these daies when the Lord Pope* Innocent *the 4th.* had signified by his Apostolick Writings, commanding the Bishop of *Lincoln* that he should do somewhat which he took to be unjust, and dissonant to reason, as he frequently did to him and other English *Prelates*; he wrote back to him in these words [*Be it known to your discretion, that I devoutly and reverently, with filial affection, obey the Apostolical Precepts: And being zealous of the paternal honour, I am against and resist the things which are against the Apostolical mandates*

For:

*For I am bound to both by Gods Commands: For the Apostolick mandates, neither are, nor can be any other, than consonant and conform to the Apostles Doctrine, and to the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, the Master and Lord of the Apostles, whose type and person the Lord Pope chiefly beareth in the Hierarchy of the Church**. *For our Lord Jesus Christ himself saith,* He that is not with me, is against me. *But the most Divine Sanctity of the Apostolical Seat, is not, nor cannot possibly be against him* (Jesus Christ) *Therefore the tenor of the foresaid Letter is not consonant to the Apostolick Sanctity; but very much absonant and discordant: First, because of the superaccumulated* Non obstante of that Letter, and such like, *that are dispersed far and wide, not brought in by any necessity of observing the Law of Nature; whence a deluge of inconstancy, audaciousness, and procacity, immodesty, lying, deceiving, hardly believing or trusting any doth arise: And from these a deluge of innumerable vices, moving and troubling the purity of the Christian Religion, and the tranquility of social humane conversation.*

*It must be known that this Bishop lived in the depth of Popery, and acknowledgeth the Popes Power, as men do now the Bishops.

Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer, which in the later times will be also the sin of Antichrist the Son of perdition, *which the Lord will destroy with the spirit of his mouth, there neither is, nor can be any other kind of sin so adverse and contrary to the Apostles and the Evangelical Doctrine, and so hateful, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as to kill and destroy souls by defrauding them of the care of the Pastoral Office and Ministry: Which sin they are by most evident*

testimonies of Sacred Scripture known to commit, who being placed in the power of Pastoral Care, do get the Salary of the Pastoral Office and Ministry, from the milk and fleece of the Sheep of Christ, who are to be made alive and saved, but administer not their dues. For the very not administring of the Pastoral Ministeries, is, by the Scripture Testimony, the killing and destroying of the Sheep. And that these two sorts of sins (though with disparity) are the worst, and inestimably superexceeding every other sort of sin, is manifest by this, in that they are (though with disparity and dissimilitude) directly contrary to the two said existent things that are best: For that is the worst thing that is contrary to the best: And as much as lieth in the said sinners. One of these sins is the destruction of the very Deity, which is supereſſentially, and supernaturally Best; the other is the destroying of the Deiformity and Deification, which is Best Essentially and Naturally by the gracious participations of the beams of the Deity. And because, as in good things, the Cause of good is better than its Effect; so also in evils, the Cause of evil is worse than its Effect. And it is manifest that the Introducers of such most evil Murderers of this Deiformity and Deification in the Sheep of Christ, in the Church of God, are worse than these most evil Murderers themselves, and neerest to Lucifer *and Antichrist; and in this pejority they are gradually the worst, by how much they superexcel, who were more obliged to exclude and extirpate such destroyers from the Church of God, by the greater and divíner power, given them by God for Edification, and not for Destruction. It cannot be therefore that a most holy Apostolick Seat (to which by*

*by our most holy Lord Jesus Christ, all power is given, as the Apostle witnesseth, for Edification, and not for Destruction) should ever command, bid, or any way endeavour any such thing, or any thing verging towards such a sin, so odious, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and so utterly pernicious to mankind. For this were either a defection, or a corruption, or an abuse of his evidently most holy and full power, or an utter elongation from the Throne of the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the neareſt coaſſeſſion in the Chair of Peſtilence, to the two foreſaid Princes of darkneſs, and of the pains of Hell. No one that in immaculate and ſincere obedience is ſubject and faithful to the ſame Seat, and not by Schiſm cut off from the Body of Chriſt, and the ſame holy Seat, can obey (ſuch) Mandates or Precepts, or any endeavours whatever, whenceſoever they flow, though it were from the Supream Order of Angels *, but muſt neceſſarily with his whole power contradict them and rebel: Wherefore, Reverend Lords, from the duty of obedience and fidelity, which I owe to the Parent of the holy Apoſtolical Seat, and out of the Love of Union in the Body of Chriſt with it, I do alone (unice) filially and obediently diſobey, contradict and rebel againſt the things contained in the foreſaid Letter, and eſpecially as is before touched, they moſt evidently verge towards the ſin which is moſt abominable to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and moſt pernicious to mankind, and are altogether adverſe to the ſanctity of the Apoſtolical Seat, and are contrary to the Catholick Faith. Nor may your diſcretion therefore determine any thing hard againſt me, becauſe all my contradiction and action in this Cauſe is not in-*

* Or *Anglorum*, for its a various Lection.

*deed contradiction or rebellion, but a filial honouring of Gods command due to a Father, and of you. Briefly recollecting all; I say, that the holiness of the Apostolick Seat can do (or hath power to do) nothing but that which tendeth to edification, and not to destruction *: For this is the plenitude of power, to have power to do all to Edification. But these that they call* [Provisions] *are not for Edification, but for most manifest Destruction. Therefore the Apostolick Seat cannot accept them, because flesh and blood, which shall not possess the Kingdom of God, hath revealed them, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is in Heaven.*

* But a Papist will say, who shall be Judge? As if all men were not to be discerning Judges of truth & duty.

III. *Bishop* Sanderson *in his* Oxford *Prælections* de Juramento, *saith, as followeth,* (*The Reader is desired to see his whole words, that he say not they are mangled, or any thing omitted which he would have had put in; and to consider how far the case of Oaths, and Covenants, Promises or Professions is the same.*)

PAge 30, 31. 1. Simplicity above all things beseemeth an Oath: That is, The nature and obligation of an Oath is such, that whoever shall bind himself by so sacred a bond to do any thing, he may be altogether held by the Religion of an Oath, and sericusly from his heart intend, and as much as in him lyeth, diligently endeavour faithfully to do all that which he hath promised

to

to do, without all craft, fraud, or ill deceit or dissimulation. (See the rest there.)

Page 32, 33, 34. Contrary to this simplicity of an Oath, are two sorts of simulation; one as to the foregoing part, which is either antecedent or concomitant with the act of swearing: of which, though the former be the worser, yet neither of them is free from perjury. *David* seemeth to comprehend both in *Psal.* 15. and 24. [*He that sweareth not deceitfully*, that is, *with a mind to deceive*---And *He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not*] that is, who when he hath bound himself by an Oath, will rather, even to his own great loss, perform that which he incommodiously swore, than for any temporal commodity violate his faith. --These things the greater part of men now in being, seem to me not to think of, or not seriously; who fear not to swear without any ambage prolixly, and in the very words, whatsoever is proposed to them, by such as have power to do them hurt: Yea and think themselves the only wise men, and disdainfully deride their simplicity and vain fear, who, lest they hurt their consciences, forsooth, do seek a knot in a rush, and vex (or sollicit) the *forms prescribed* by such as can proscribe them: And they securely free themselves from all crime and fear of Perjury, and think they have well cared for themselves and their consciences, if when they swear, like the Jesuits, they can but any how defend themselves, by tacite equivocations, or mental reservations, or subtle forced interpretations, and quite alien from the words: Or else after they have sworn, can find out some artificial evasion, as a hole to get out by, as the σοφὴ ἀφορμὴ, by which so to defraud the Oath,

that taking the words, yet the ſenſe may be eluded by ſome Sophiſm, and all the force of it wholly be enervated. The old Chriſtians received not this Theology: The founder Heathens received not this Moral Philoſophy: Much otherwiſe out of them, ſaith *Auguſtine* ["*They are perjured who* "*keeping the words, deceive the expectation of them* "*that they ſwear to*] And otherwiſe, ſaith *Cicero*, "[*That is to be kept which is ſo ſworn as the mind* "*of the Impoſer conceived it ſhould be done.*] Read the proofs, p. 34, &c. 1. From many Texts of Scripture: 2. From God's own example: 3. From the nature of Truth: 4. From the end of an Oath, p. 38. which is the confirmation of a doubtful matter; that is, that of things otherwiſe uncertain and depending on humane credit, there ſhould be had ſuch certainty as humane affairs require. For an Oath was inſtituted by God, by force of the Light of Nature, for a remedy of humane defects about Truth; that among mortals it ſhould be Truths laſt garriſon, as oft as all other kinds of proof do fail. But this end would be wholly overthrown, and there could be no certain credit among men, if it were free for the ſwearer, at his own arbiterment, what he ſpeaketh in words to cauſe belief, by ſome tacite ambiguity in ſwearing, or after he hath ſworn, by finding out ſome new, and as it were, poſthumous comment ſo to diſable it, as that it ſhall loſe all its force, and be utterly ineffectual. If either of theſe were lawful, an Oath ſhould not be the end of ſtrife, but the beginning, and ſhould rather give occaſion for new contradictions and ſtrifes, than end the old ones. Open but this window once, and then what can be thought of ſo falſe, for the defence whereof

whereof ſome effuge or lurking-hole may not be deviſed, whereby it may be freed from being a lie. In the mean time, what perverſeneſs is it that That ſhould by diſhoneſt men be turned into an inſtrument of deceiving, which was inſtituted by the moſt wiſe God to be a help to credit (or mens belief of one another?) Verily, unleſs one will rather uſe God's ſacred inſtitution to another purpoſe, than that to which it was inſtituted (which a godly man will not eaſily do) that which is the end of an Oath, the ſame ought to be the end of the ſwearer: And that is, ſo to make the hearer to believe, that he may become more certain and ſecure of the Truth of that which before was doubtful. But he that diſſembleth, ſtudieth to breed a falſe belief in the hearers, and ſo doth not only ſuffer another to be deceived (which yet is contrary to Charity when he may and ought to hinder it;) but alſo intendeth to deceive; which is not only againſt all Juſtice and Honeſty, but it is alſo conjoyned with the greateſt wrong to God, and contempt of his name. And verily to me ſcarce any other ſort of *Perjury* doth more diametrically ſeem to be againſt either the ſcope of the third Commandment, or the very words (of not taking the name of God in vain) than that which ariſeth from this diſſimulation. For as the word Vanity doth properly and adequately comprehend all that which is any way falſe; ſo in a certain peculiar ſort, and moſt properly, that which is ſo falſe as yet to bear a ſhew of Truth. (See the reſt.)

The ſecond which pertaineth to the interpretation of an Oath, is this, *The Obligation of an Oath is of ſtrict right*---That is of ſo juſt an interpreta-

tion of right, that the words of the Law may not be drawn further than is meet for the sake or favour of any party; nor constrained to serve any mans fact or commodity. In a word, *strict Right*, is not here taken so as to exclude an interpretation tempered with equity, but to exclude an interpretation of Law (or right) corrupted by favour (or for any ones sake)---The extreams are *A Rigid* interpretation, and *A Favourable---A Just* interpretation is the mean between both, which searcheth after the true and genuine sense of the Law, without respect at all to persons, out of natural equity and justice, and from the words themselves, as they agree with equity and justice. And if this may be plainly made out in the words themselves, that it is in every case simply to be retained.--- See the rest.

P. 45. When I say that an Oath is of *strict right*, it is so to be understood, that the meaning of the Oath, which is plain enough in the words, is alwaies to be held. But where the sense is doubtful, every one must take great heed, lest we too much indulge our selves, and our own affections; and lest we grant our selves too liberal and lax a license of interpreting, that we may the easilier get our selves out of the bond of the Oath which we are tyed by; and lest we fasten (or feign) any sense on the Oath taken, or on any part of it, for our own commodity or profits sake, which any other pious and prudent man, of a freer judgment as not interessed in the cause, would not easily draw from the very words themselves.

The Reason is twofold; one in respect to others, for fear of scandal, lest any that is weak, drawn by our example, think he may do that which he seeth

us

us do, though unacquainted with those subtilties, by which only we use to defend our selves from the crime of Perjury. The other in respect of our selves, for fear of perjury; which most grievous crime undoubtedly we commit, if that more benign interpretation chance to deceive us, which made us bold to take the Oath. This reason resteth on that general, and most profitable rule, which bids us [*in doubtful cases take the safer side*:] But it is the safer *not to swear, when the words of the proposed Oath, according to the common and obvious sense of the words, seem to contain somewhat unlawful in them*; rather than by a *Lax Interpretation* so to soften them for our own use, that we may the more securely swear them: Seeing we know that such an Oath may be refused without danger of perjury, but we know not that it can be taken without danger or fear of it.

P. 46, 47, 197. Yet we must take heed that this *strict* interpretation turn not into a Rigid one---of common right these exceptions and conditions (of promissory Oaths) are ever understood: [1. *If God permit*: 2. *Saving the Right of others.* And, *as far as is lawful*; *saving the Right of Superiours*: 3. *Things standing as they do*, or *in the same state*: *As far as I am able*, &c.]

P. 49. But if any admit more dubious exceptions--he boldly and rashly removeth God's boundaries of an Oath, and openeth a wide door to all kind of Perjury.

P. 193. The third Case is, when one imposeth an Oath of an ambiguous sense, only requiring that those words be sworn, permitting the swearer to understand the words in what sense he will: I say, it must deservedly be suspected that an Oath offered

offered on such a condition hath some latent ill deceit, and therefore is to be refused by a pious and prudent man; & to me seemeth to be disallowed for three causes: 1. In respect to the Oath it self, in which *Truth* is first required: But a speech of indefinite and ambiguous sense before distinction made, is no true proposition; yea, no proposition at all; when a proposition, as Boys know, should signifie truth or falshood without ambiguity. 2. In respect of him to whom we swear: For the proper end of an Oath is, that he to whom it is made have some certainty of a thing before uncertain. 3. In respect to the swearer himself, who if he take an Oath in such condition, prepareth either a scandal for his neighbour, or a snare for himself. For such collusion cannot be imagined to look any other way, than either to draw others by our example to take the same Oath (though with a reluctant conscience) which is to scandalize our neighbour: or that somewhat else be after required of us to be done by virtue of that Oath, which is either unlawful, or incommodious; which is to lay a snare for our selves. Let a wise man therefore take heed that he suffer not himself to be imposed on by these Arts; or lest he so much value the favour or fear of any other man, as to swallow the bait when he knoweth that the hook is under it. Verily, that all may be rightly done when you swear, it is expedient that all parties be clearly agreed of the sense of the words that are interessed in the matter; which by the Antients was called [*Liquido jurare*]

Scis tamen, & liquido juratus dicere posses.

And in the old form, he that imposed the Oath was wont to say to the swearer [*Qui de re peto liquido*

liquido jures] (that is, [*Of which I require thee to swear plainly.*]

P. 55, 56. The question, *Whether this or that Oath be lawful?* much differeth from this, [*Whether this or that Oath bind?*] For though it be certain that we ought not to take the Oath, which we know that we ought not to keep; yet it may come to pass, and often doth, that we ought to perform that which we ought not to have taken. *Joshuas* Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, is a most clear example of this. -- An Oath may be said to be unlawful two waies; either as to the *matter sworn*, or as to the Act of *swearing*. An Oath unlawful as to the matter sworn, bindeth not at all. An Oath unlawful in respect to the Act of *swearing*, bindeth, unless otherwaies hindered.

P. 74, 75. A thing lawful in it self may be unlawful by accident;--as by the errour of the swearer, or the ill effect of the thing sworn. The third Case is, *When one promiseth by an Oath to do somewhat perhaps lawful in it self, which yet he thinketh unlawful, or at least feareth lest it be not lawful*: As if any one before these times, admitted to an Ecclesiastical Benefice, had *promised* to observe in Publick Worship all the Rites commanded by the Ecclesiastical Laws, as the Surplice, the sign of the Cross at the sacred Font, kneeling in receiving the Sacrament, and such like, which yet by some light prejudice he thought were superstitious and Popish. The question is, *What obligation there is in this case?* I say, 1. Such an Oath cannot be taken during such errour, without grievous sin. For he sinneth grievously that sinneth against his conscience, though erroneous. For when the Judgment of the Intellect is every ones neerest

Rule

Rule of action, the will, if it follow not, that judgment failing from its Rule, must needs be carried into sin. It's a common saying, [*He that doth against his conscience, buildeth to Hell.*] Verily he that sweareth what he thinketh unlawful, would swear if it were indeed unlawful; & that becometh unlawful to him that is lawful to another; as the Apostle judgeth, *Rom.* 14. 14. ---2. *I say, such an Oath doth not bind*--- Because an Oath cannot take away a former obligation, nor induce another obligation contrary to it. But that Oath which is taken against the dictate of conscience, had a former obligation arising from that dictate. For the dictate of conscience, whether right or erroneous, alwaies obligeth, at least not to act against it. But a following Oath cannot remove that obligation, but is it self invalid, and loseth its obliging force. 3. But if the swearer after better taught, do see and correct his errour, the Oath which bound him not before, beginneth then to bind him.

P. 77. Other Cases there are of things by Accident unlawful, by reason of ill effects of the thing it self; as it may be a hinderer of a greater good, or a cause, at least an occasion of evil.--- The fourth Case is, when the thing sworn seemeth unlawful, as hindering the effect of some antecedent good, as of a Vow or Promise made before: As if one that had before-hand bound himself to some work of Piety or Charity, after take an Oath that hindereth the fulfilling of the former Vow. As if one that vowed to give half his gain weekly to the poor, shall after swear to give it all to the war: --- This case hath no difficulty; I plainly answer, --- such an Oath is neither lawful nor obligatory, because that the former obligation, whence-

whencesoever contracted, whether by Covenant, or by Vow, or by bare Promise, or by meer Office (or Duty) remaineth valid, and puts a bar to every following contrary act. --

(Read *Præl.* 4. § 11,12,13,14,15. what he saith for the obligation, 1 Of spontaneous Oaths; 2. Of Oaths caused by fraud; 3. Or by fear extorted; 4. Even of Oaths to Robbers.)

P. 110. 3. He that taketh an Oath imposed by one that had no just authority, but not otherwise vicious, is bound to perform what he swore.

(Read p. 175, &c. what he saith at large against equivocation, stretching reservations, as opening the door to all lying and perjury, and frustrating the end of Oaths.)

P. 195. Of the latitude and extent of an Oath, *How far the sense is to be measured by the scope* *: As when the *Cause* of the Oath was particular, but the words are general, *e. g.* The Popes Usurpation was the Cause of the Oath of the Kings Supremacy: --- But the *words* of the Oath so assert the Kings Supremacy, as exclude all others as well as the Pope from exercising supreme Power in this Kingdom: *Answ.* Such an Oath obligeth as to the words themselves in their utmost latitude: The Reason is, because the intention of the Law, though made on a particular occasion, is general, to hinder all incommodities of the same kind for the future.---As Lawyers fetch not the sense of Laws from the Proem, but from the body of the Statute, so we must judge of the just interpretation of an Oath, not by the promised recognition, or other preface, but by the body of the Oath it self.

* As of Assent and Consent to the Use of the Liturgy, &c.

P 208. He is alwaies perjured that intendeth not what he promiſed: but he is not alwaies perjured that performeth not what he promiſed. (The bond being diſſolved.)

P. 227. Vows made to God, as a party, cannot be relaxed by man (though men may give away their own.)

If you ſwear for the ſake of another, as to his honour, obedience, profit, or other good, the Oath bindeth not, unleſs he for whom you ſwear, take it as acceptable and firm.

P. 242. Concl. 4. It is a grievous ſin to impoſe an Oath unduly, on another. As 1. An Oath not ſtabliſhed by Law or Cuſtom, &c. 2. An Oath that is repugnant, or in the ſenſe that the words hold forth in the common uſe of ſpeaking, *ſeemeth* repugnant to any Oath by him formerly lawfully taken. 3. They that conſtrain men to ſwear to a thing unlawful, as againſt our duty to God, or our Superiours, or the Laws of the Kingdom, or againſt good manners, or that which is otherwiſe diſhoneſt, and may not be kept. 4. He who impoſeth an Oath of ambiguous ſenſe, or any way captious; to enſnare the conſcience, life, liberty or fortune of his neighbour. 5. He that without neceſſity, by fear compelleth, or by Authority impelleth, or by counſel, example, fraud, or other artifice or reaſon induceth another to ſwear, who he knoweth will ſwear againſt the judgment of his conſcience. I would all men in great power would remember how filthy a character *Jeroboam* branded his own conſcience, fame and name with, that made *Iſrael* to ſin: and how greatly they provoke God's great wrath againſt themſelves, that abuſe their power to other mens ruine, which God

God gave them for edification, and not for deſtruction.

P. 243. Concl. 5. An offered Oath is not to be taken with a reluctant or doubting conſcience: 1. Becauſe what is not of faith is ſin. 2. Becauſe we muſt ſwear in judgment, which he doth not that ſweareth againſt his conſciences judgment. 3. Becauſe this is done for ſome temporal commodity, or to avoid ſome loſs, or obtain ſome gain, or to get ſome mans favour, or ſuch like: But how unworthy of a Chriſtian is it, to ſet God behind the World, Heaven behind Earth, the Soul behind the Body, eternal joy behind temporal gain, the hope of the life to come behind preſent eaſe, inward peace behind outward! 4. Becauſe he that ſo ſweareth evidently expoſeth himſelf to the danger of Perjury (a moſt heinous ſin.) For he that for hope or fear of any temporal commodity or diſcommodity can be induced to ſwear that which he ought not, it is ſcarce credible but he may by the like hope or fear be drawn from doing what he ſwore. And PERJURY was by the very heathens accounted one of thoſe moſt heinous ſins, which they believed would bring the wrath of the Gods not only on the guilty, but on their poſterity, yea on whole nations, much more is it to be feared of us, who worſhip that one true God, who hath ſolemnly profeſſed that he will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain. Leſt, while which way ever we look we ſee ſuch a great and luxuriant crop of Oaths and Perjury, even already white to the Harveſt, God the moſt righteous judge ſhould quickly put in the ſickle, utterly to cut down ſo perfidious and profane a nation. We have long felt that our moſt merciful

Father

Father is angry, and that the infinite patience of God is turned into fury, being infinitely wronged, and (if I may so say) overcome. It is not easy to say, for which sins this chiefly is, when all sins are very great. But verily he that will seriously think, since God hath begun to scourge us by a neerer rod, how we have not grieved for these grievous sins of swearing and perjury, yea how greatly on one side is increased, the unbridled and unpunished licence of swearing and blaspheming, and on the other side the foul hypocrisie of forswearing on pretence of religion; it can scarce be, but that of *Jeremy* will come into his mind, *Because of Oaths the land mourneth.* These things being so neer, Fathers and Brethren, we that are here and all others that wish well to the publick peace of the Kingdom and Church, and the private peace of their own hearts and consciences, must be intreated that they first carefully beware of the name of God, and the crime of violated fidelity, and wholly avoid unnecessary Oaths, and constantly refuse those that are unduely imposed (or offered) by others; and fulfill those faithfully that are duly and rightly taken by our selves; and then that as much as we are able, we strenuously restrain the liberty of sinning in others; and that we pray to our most Good and Great God continually that, being taught by his scourge, and admonished, and humbled under his mighty hand, we fly to his mercy, acknowledge his justice, implore his grace, for the pardon of our sins, the amendment of our lives, and the safety of our souls, by and for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ: To whom with the Father, and the Spirit, the Three one-Omnipotent God be Kingdom, Power, and Glory for ever. *Amen.*

It's like Dr. *Sanderſon* had ſome ſpecial eye to the Scots Covenant; but doubtleſs he made not any new or ſingular Doctrine for that end, which will not hold true in all caſes by him deſcribed.

Mr. *Rich. Hollingworth* in a late Plea for the Church of *England*, vehemently urging the execution of the Laws againſt Nonconformiſts, ſaith Page 71. [1. *Thereby* (by Perjury) *the conſcience of the Miniſter is debauched, and he thereby made very unfit to give thoſe inſtructions, and wholſom counſel to the people that otherwiſe he might do: For all wilful ſins, eſpecially ſuch a Notorious one as Perjury, hardens a mans mind, and diveſts him, till repented of, of all the neceſſary and uſeful influences and aſſiſtances of Gods good ſpirit, and maketh him careleſs, as of his own, ſo of the ſouls of others: And a man ſo eaſily enſnared by ſuch a ſin, is eaſily induced by any temptation to a neglect of thoſe duties which his Office calls for, and a remiſs performance of thoſe Ordinances which were deſigned and commanded on purpoſe to reform and inſtruct the people.*

And page 73. [*They muſt be accountable at the laſt day, not only for their own ſin, but for that very ſin of Perjury, which the vicious Prieſt is guilty of: For he that inviteth a man to a ſin, is reckoned as if he had committed the ſin himſelf.*]

What then would become of me, if I undertook to juſtifie the Perjury of multitudes?---yea, if alſo I did by Preſs and Preaching, earneſtly preſs Magiſtrates to execute the Laws upon many hundreds of Chriſts Miniſters, becauſe they dare not venture on that which they fear (on ſuch reaſons as are here rendred) to be a participation of many

thousand Perjuries, nor on the heinous sacriledge of deserting their sacred function, and encouraging neer two thousand silenced Ministers to do the like by my example, besides many other feared sins: If I were the man that for this did plead and beg that they might be laid in Gaols with rogues, and pay fourty pound a sermon and be banished five miles from all Corporations &c. and all this as necessary to the Church and as for God, fathering it all on him who is the God of Truth and Love; and pretending that there is no need of their Ministry, because that I and such as I, do better perform all that office against ignorance, ungodlines and popery without them, &c. How could I expect regard when I preached against the sins of others? Or with what face could I do it? When my sin shall be opened to me, must I not with *Origen* after his fall, instead of preaching, shut the book, and weep, remembring *Psal.* 50. 16, 17. and the dreadful third Commandment; and tremble when I thought of death and judgment? For a *Judas* in Christs family sinneth at a dearer rate than strangers, and will quickly find his gain too hot to hold, and those that hired him to be woful Comforters, who will turn him off with a [*see thou to that.*]

Obj. Fewer words might serve.

Ans. *Nondum satis dicitur, dum non satis discitur. Nec paucis dicendum est, quod paucis non discendum est.*

[While I long wondered that I could not see what satisfied both all the Learned Convocation, and the Parliament, for the *truth of the Rule in the Liturgy to find out Easter day for ever*, which is contrary to our Almanacks, and we must all be silenced (and ruined for Preaching) unless we profess that we *Assent to it*, I met with no Conformist that gave me any other satisfaction, than to refer me to Dr. *Pells* Book: And meeting him happily, I craved his information; and the grave, learned, honest Doctor was so far from making me a Conformist, that he professed the passage now is indefensible.]

I was lately assaulted with this, as the strongest Argument for Conformity [*Deliberate lying is no sin, but a duty when it doth no* harm but a *necessary good; As by a Physician to save his patient, or to save a mans life much more to save souls by preaching.*

Ans. This case requireth a longer answer than I have here room for: Briefly. 1. God best knoweth: who is wisest and meetest to Govern the world, for the good of all; and he forbids it. 2. This principle believed would make all men *untrusty* to each other, while every man would think he had reason to lie, when his interest required it; and untrustiness overthroweth all humane polities, societies and converse, and so would do a thousand fold more harm to Kings, Subjects and all, than the saving of a mans life would compensate. 3. Its hypocrisie to sin my self that I may preach against sin in others, 4. The Church of God is against this doctrine, & fathers; And the best casuists have copiously confuted it, though some Jesuites are more lax, and use to serve their interest by it.

5. An

5. At leaſt, methinks that where *Jeſuites lying* is cryed down, men ſhould not judge my fearing a lie, a crime that rendreth me intolerable in the Miniſtry, and my preaching without it to deſerve a Gaol and utter ruine; and the ſame to neer 2000 others; the ſilencing of whom will one day prove no *indifferent thing*: And they that think it harmleſs publickly, Miniſterially upon deliberation to profeſs a falſhood, may ſhortly think it a duty to ſwear it: But I believe that God will not hold that perſon, Church or Kingdom guiltleſs, which taketh his name in vain: ſee Dr. *Hammonds* Catechiſm on the 3. Commandment.

FINIS.

ERRATA'S.

Reader,

THE ſmaller literary miſtakes are left to thy own ingenuity, the groſſer errours of the Preſs, thou art deſired thus to correct.

Epiſt. p. 5. l. 24. for *urge*, r. *argue*, p. 10. for *prefixed*, r. *affixed*, p. 12. l. 4. for *our*, r. *one*, l. 24. r. *A Chriſtian*, p. 32. l. 1. for *mollifie*, r. *nullifie*, p. 50. l. 21. r. *one will*, p. 53. l. 20. r. *communion*, p. 63. l. 4. r. *Pontici*, p. 64. l. 31. r. *Theodoſius*, p. 73. l. 26. for *there*, r. *then*, p. 88. l. 20. r. *put not*, p. 97. l. 25. r. *formally*, p. 99. l. 15. for *an acceptable*, r. *uncapable*, p. 102. l. 8. r. *help*, p. 119. l. 1. for *conſidering*, r. *concerned in*, p. 126. l. 13. r. *ſaid they*, p. 128. l. 6. for *ſuſpenſion*, r. *ſuſpicion*, p. 154. l. 5. for *his*, r. *their*, p. 157. l. 13. for *any*. r. *an*, p. 159. l. 16. *dele that*, p. 160. l. 30. r. *that THIS is*, p. 162. l. 26. r. *we muſt*, p. 187. l. 5. r. *fame*, l. 10. *dele more*, p. 203. l. 25. r. *Hale*, p. 205. from *we take*, and 206, and 207. are all miſplaced, p. 224. l. laſt, for *ſwarming*, r. *ſwearing*, p. 229. l. 21. r. 97. p. 238. for FIRE, r. PLAGUE, p. 265. l. 15. r. *would not*, l. 24. for *about*, r. *above*, p. 269. l. 23. for *hoc*, r. *hos*, p. 272. l. 2. for *that*, r. *the*, l. 3. *dele the*, p. 286. l. 5. for *yet*, r. *yea*, p. 288. l. 28. for *aſſureth*, r. *aſſerteth*, p. 161. l. 18. r. *plenilunium*, p. 248. l. 8. for 1660, r. 1661. p. 289. l. 23. r. *domination*, p. 298. l. 2. r. *Regia*, p. 333. l. *penult.* r. *premiſed*. Many more are left to the Readers ingenuity.

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